

Library of

Wellesley College.

NON MINISTRARI SED MINISTRARE.

Purchased from

Special Appropriation

No 100022

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries

http://www.archive.org/details/historyofpopesfr0399past

HISTORY OF THE POPES.

VOL. III.

THE

HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS

OF THE ORATORY.

VOLUME III.

LONDON:
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO., Ld.,
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD.

1894.

* "Dissident invicem christiani principes et que contra infideles arma inferre debuissent, in sua latera convertunt et nemo eos composuit. Laxati sunt clericorum mores et facti sunt laicis in scandalum et ruinam et defuit disciplina. Vilescit in dies ecclesie auctoritatis et censurarum potencia pene enervata videtur et quis reintegravit eam? Romana curia in multis deformata est et quis reformavit eam?"

From the * Discourse of the Bishop of Torcello, Domenico de' Domenichi, to the Cardinals assembled in Conclave, 1458, Aug. 16, Cod. Vat. 3675. Vatican Library.

"Fluctuat saepe numero Apostolica navis, sed non demergitur; concutitur, sed non frangitur; oppugnatur, sed non expugnatur. Tentari sinit Deus electos suos, vinci non sinit."

Pius II. in the Bull "Vocavit nos" of 13th Oct. 1458.

BX
955
.P35
3

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

	PAGE
Editor's Preface	vii
List of complete Titles of Books frequently quoted in Vols. III. and IV.	ix
Table of Contents	xli
List of Unpublished Documents in Appendix	lvii
Election of Pius II. (1458–1464)	1–44
The Eastern Question and the Congress of Mantua	45–101
The Contest for the Neapolitan Throne	102–128
Opposition to Papal Authority	129–212
Attempted Reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church	213–239
The Eastern Question, 1460–1463	240–268
Plans of Reform	269–310
The Crusade, and Death of Pius II.	311–374
Appendix of Unpublished Documents	375–418
Index of Names	419–424

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The favourable reception accorded to the English Version of Volume I. of Professor Ludwig Pastor's "History of the Popes," issued in 1891, has given encouragement for a continuance of the publication of the Work.

The Second Volume, like the preceding one, in its English form has been divided into Two Volumes (Vols. III. and IV.). They comprise the Pontificates of Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. (A.D. 1458–1484).

The Editor's share in the work has been confined to the supervision of the translation, the aim of which has been to follow the Text as closely as possible. The Notes, which contain most valuable matter, have been published *in extenso*, as also the Appendix of Unpublished Documents, the latter being indicated by a star. The original spelling, which may sometimes appear strange to modern eyes, has been rendered *verbatim*.

The Editor begs to express his best thanks to the friends who have prepared the translation, and compiled the Table of Contents and Index.

F. I. A.

The Oratory,
South Kensington, S.W.,
December, 1894.

COMPLETE TITLES OF BOOKS QUOTED IN VOLUMES III. AND IV.

d'Achery. Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant. Nova edit. Parisiis, 1723. 3 voll.

Adinolfi, P. La Portica di S. Pietro ossia Borgo nell' età di mezzo. Nuovo saggio topografico dato sopra pubblici e privati documenti. Roma, 1859.

——— Roma nell' età di mezzo. Roma, 1881. 2 voll.

Aeneas Sylvius (*Piccolomineus, Pius II. papa*) Opera. Basileae, 1551.

——— Pii II. Epistolae ed. Antonius de Zarotis. Mediolani, 1481. (*See* HAIN n. 169) et Mediolani, 1487 (*see* HAIN n. 170).

——— Pii II. Pontificis maximi commentarii rerum memorabilium a r. d. Joanne Gobellino iamdiu compositi, etc. Quibus hac editione accedunt Jacobi Piccolominei, cardinalis Papiensis, rerum gestarum sui temporis et ad Pii continuationem commentarii eiusdemque epistolae. Francofurti, 1614.

——— Pii II. P.M. olim Aeneae Sylvii Piccol. Senensis Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae ed. Mansi. Lucae, 1755. Tom. I. II.

Aeneae Sylvii opera inedita. See *Cugnoni*.

Agostini, Giov. degli, Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori Viniziani. Venezia, 1752. Tom. I. II.

Allegretto Allegretti, Diari delle cose Sanesi del suo tempo. MURATORI, XXIII., 767–860. Mediolani, 1733.

[*Ammanati, Jacopo*]. Epistolae et commentarii Jacobi Picolomini cardinalis Papiensis. Mediolani, 1506 (also in the edition of Pii II. Comment., Francofurti, 1614).

Analecta Franciscana edita a patribus collegii S. Bonaventurae, Tom. II. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1887.

Anecdota litteraria ex MSS. codicibus eruta. Romae, 1772–83. 4 voll.

Anecdota Veneta nunc primum collecta ac notis illustrata studio Fr. Joannis Baptistae Mariae Contareni, Ord. Praedicat. Venetiis, 1757.

Annales Bononienses fratris Hieronymi de Bursellis. MURATORI, Script., XXIII., 867–916. Mediolani, 1733.

Annales Foroliviensis. MURATORI, Script., XXII., 135–240. Mediolani, 1733.

Annales Placentini, ab anno 1401 usque ad 1463 ab Antonio de Ripalta patricio Placentino conscripti. MURATORI, Script., XX., 869 *seq.* Mediolani, 1731.

Apponyi-Abel. Isotae Nogarolae Veronensis Opera quae supersunt omnia. Vindobonae et Budapestini, 1886. 2 voll.

Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften Deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters. Herausgeg. von J. L. Büchler, C. G. Dümge und G. H. Pertz. 12 Bde. Frankfurt a. M. und Hannover, 1820–1874. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde. Bd. I. ff. Hannover, 1876 ff.

Archiv für Kunde Œsterreichischer Geschichtsquellen. Herausgegeben von der zur Pflege vaterländischer Geschichte ausgestellten Commission der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. I. ff. Wien, 1848 ff.

Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria. Roma, 1878–89. Vol. I.–XI.

Archivio Storico Artistico, Archeologico e Letterario della città e provincia di Roma fondato e diretto da Fabio Gori. Roma-Spoleto, 1875–83. 4 voll.

Archivio Storico Italiano ossia raccolta di opere e documenti inediti o divenuti rarissimi risguardanti la storia d'Italia. V. Serie. Firenze, 1842–89.

Archivio Storico Lombardo, giornale della Società storica Lombarda, e bolletino della consulta archeologica del museo storico-artistico di Milano. Milano, 1874. Vol. I. *et seq.*

Archivio Storico per le provincie Napoletane pubblicato a cura della società di storia patria. Napoli, 1876. Vol. I.

Archivio Veneto. Pubblicaz. periodica, 71 fascicoli. Venezia, 1870.

Arisius, Fr. Cremona literata seu in Cremonenses doctrinis et litterariis dignitatibus eminentiores chronologicae adnotationes etc. Parmae, 1702. 2 voll.

Armellini, Mariano. Le chiese di Roma dalle loro origini sino al secolo XVI. Roma, 1887.

Aschbach, J. Allgemeines Kirchenlexikon oder alphabetisch geordnete Darstellung des Wissenswürdigsten aus der gesammten Theologie und ihren Hilfswissenschaften. Frankfurt a. M., 1846–50.

Atti e memorie della R. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna. Bologna, 1862. Serie II., Vol. I. 1875.

Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi. Modena, 1863–76. 8 voll.

Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell' Emilia. Tom. I. Modena, 1877.

Bachmann, A. Georgs von Podiebrad Wahl, Krönung und Anerkennung, im Archiv für Œsterreichische Geschichte, LIV., 37–175. Wien, 1876.

——— Böhmen und seine Nachbarländer unter Georg von Podiebrad 1458–1461 und des Königs Bewerbung um die Deutsche Krone. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Versuche einer Reichsreform im XV. Jahrhundert, zum Theil nach ungedruckten Quellen. Prag, 1878.

——— Deutsche Reichsgeschichte im Zeitalter Friedrichs III. und Max. I. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Œsterreich. Staatengeschichte. Bd. I. Leipzig, 1884.

Balan, P. Storia d'Italia. Tom. V. Modena, 1877.

——— Delle Relazioni fra la Chiesa Cattolica e gli Slavi della Bulgaria, Bosnia, Servia, Erzegovina. Roma, 1880.

Baldassini, G. Memorie istoriche della città di Jesi. Jesi, 1765.

Baldi, Bernardino. Vita e fatti di Federigo di Montefeltre, duca di Urbino. Istoria di B. B. estratta da MS. inedito della Biblioteca Albani e corredata di osservazioni del Sig. Francesco Zuccardi. Roma, 1824. Vol. III.

Baluze, St. Miscellanea ed. Mansi. Lucae, 1761. 4 voll.

Banchi, L. Istruzioni ad ambasciatori Senesi e relazioni di essi alla republica trascritte da alcuni codici del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena. Siena, 1863 (per le nozze G. Ricci e Stef. Pianigiani-Sanfranceschi).

Bandinius. Catalogus codicum Latin. Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae. Tom. I.–V. Florentiae, 1774–77.

——— Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana. Tom. I.–III. Florentiae, 1791–93.

Bangen, J.H. Die Römische Curie, ihre gegenwärtige Zusammensetzung und ihr Geschäftsgang. Münster, 1854.

Barletius, M. De Vita, moribus ac rebus praecipue adversus Turcas gestis Georgii Castrioti etc. Argentorati, 1537.

Basin, Thomas. Histoire des Règnes de Charles VII. et de Louis XI., publiée par J. Quicherat. Paris, 1855–59. 4 vols.

Battaglini, F. Gaetano. Memorie istoriche di Rimino e suoi signori. Bologna, 1789.

Bayer, J. Aus Italien. Culturgeschichtliche Bilder. Leipzig, 1886.

Beets, Nicolaus. De Aeneae Sylvii, qui postea Pius papa Secundus, morum mentisque mutationis rationibus. Harlemi, 1839.

Bellesheim, Alphons. Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Schottland von der Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die Gegenwart. Erster Band : von 400 bis 1560. Mainz, 1883.

Belli. Delle case abitate in Roma da parecchi uomini illustri. Roma, 1850.

Berchet, G. La republica di Venezia e la Persia. Venezia, 1866.

Bernino, Dom. Historia di tutte l'heresie descritta da D. B. Tomo quarto sin' all' anno 1700. Venezia, 1724.

Beschreibung der Stadt Rom von Ernst Platner, Karl Bunsen, Eduard Gerhard und Wilhelm Röstell. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1829–42. 3 Bde.

Bibliotheca Hispana vetus etc. auctore D. Nicolao Antonio Hispalensi. Matriti, 1788. 2 voll.

Bibliotheca Pontificia duobis libris distincta auctore R. P. F. Ludovico Jacob a S. Carolo. Lugduni, 1643.

Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes. Revue d'érudition consacrée spécialement a l'étude du moyen-âge. Paris, 1839.

Bickell, G. Synodi Brixinenses saeculi xv. Oeniponte, 1880.

Biographie, Allgemeine Deutsche. 28 Bde. Leipzig, 1875.

Bissolati, St. Le Vite di due illustri Cremonesi (Bart. Platina e Marco Girol. Vida). Milano, 1856.

Bisticci. See *Vespasiano.*

Blasi, Giovanni di. Storia del regno di Sicilia dall' epoca oscura e favolosa al 1774. Vol. II. Palermo, 1846.

Bonanni, Phil. Numismata Pontificum Romanorum quae a tempore Martini V. ad annum 1699 vel authoritate publica vel privato genio in lucem prodiere. Tom. I., continens numismata a Martino V. usque ad Clementem VIII. Romae, 1699.

Bonazzi, Luigi. Storia di Perugia dalle origini al 1860. Vol. I. Dalle origini al 1494. Perugia, 1875.

Bonelli. Notizie istorico critiche della chiesa di Trento. Vol. III. P. 1. Trento, 1762.

Bonoli, P. Istorie della città di Forli. Forli, 1661.

Borgia, A. Istoria della chiesa e città di Velletri, descritta in quattro libri e dedicata all' em. e rev. principe il Sig. Cardinale D. Bernardo Conti. Nocera, 1723.

Borgia, Stef. Memorie istoriche della pontifizia città di Benevento. Parte terza, Volume I., che contiene la storia delle sue vicende e delle gesta de' suoi governatori dall' anno MLI. all' anno MDL. Roma, 1769.

[*Borgia, Stef.*] Istoria del dominio temporale della Sede Apost. nelle due Sicilie. Roma, 1788.

Bosio, J. Dell' Istoria della s. religione di S. Giovanni Gierosolimitano. Roma, 1621. 3 voll.

Briefe, Römische, von einem Florentiner (A. von Reumont). Erster und zweiter Theil. Neue Römische Briefe von u. s. w. 2 Theile. Leipzig, 1840–44.

Brockhaus, Cl. Gregor von Heimburg. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Geschichte des XV. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig, 1861.

Brockhaus, H. Das Hospital S. Spirito zu Rom im XV. Jahrhundert, in Janitscheks Repertorium. Bd. VII. Berlin, 1884.

Brosch, M. Papst Julius II. und die Gründung des Kirchenstaates. Gotha, 1878.

——— Geschichte des Kirchenstaates. I. Band: Das XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert. Gotha, 1880.

Brosset. Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'en 1469 de J. C. St. Pétersbourg, 1851.

Bulaeus, C.E. Historia universitatis Parisiensis. Tom. V. (1400–1500). Parisiis, 1668–73.

Bullarium Carmelitanum plures complectens summorum pontificum constitutiones ad ordinem fratrum beatissimae semperque virginis Dei genitricis Mariae de Monte Carmelo spectantes nunc primum in lucem editum duasque in partes distinctum a fratre Eliseo Monsignano eiusdem ordinis procuratore generali. Pars Prima, A.D. 743–1523. Romae, 1715.

Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum opera Thomae Ripoli generalis editum et ad autogr. recognitum, appendicibus, notis illustr. ab Ant. Bremond. Vol. III. Romae, 1731.

Bullarium Vatican. See *Collectio.*

Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio locupletior facta cura et studio Aloysii Tomasetti. Tom. IV. V. Augustae Taurinorum 1859–60. (This edition is always quoted as *Bullarium.*)

Burchardi, Joh. Diarium sive rerum urbanar. Commentarii 1483–1506, edid. L. Thuasne. Paris, 1883–85. 3 voll.

Burckhardt, J. Erzbischof Andreas von Krain, in den Beitr. zur Geschichte Basels. Bd. V. Basel, 1852.

——— Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien. Mit Illustrationen. 2 Aufl. Stuttgart, 1878.

——— Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch. 3 Auflage, besorgt von L. Geiger. 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1877–78.

——— Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens. Vierte Auflage, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers und anderer Fachgenossen bearbeitet von Dr. Wilh. Bode. II. Theil. Leipzig, 1879.

Burriel, Antonio. Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario, Contessa d'Imola e Signora di Forli, descritta in tre libri. Bologna, 1795. 3 voll.

Buser, B. Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zu Frankreich während der Jahre 1434–1494 in ihrem Zusammenhange mit den allgemeinen Verhältnissen. Leipzig, 1879.

——— Lorenzo de' Medici als Italienischer Staatsmann. Eine Skizze nach handschriftlichen Quellen. Leipzig, 1879.

Bussi, Feliciano. Istoria della città di Viterbo. Roma, 1742.

Bzovius, Abrah. Annalium ecclesiasticorum post illustr. et reverend. dominum Caesarem Baronium etc. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1618 *seq.*

Cagnola, G.P. Cronache Milanesi, in Archivio storico Italiano Tom. III. Firenze, 1842.

Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy, edited by Rawdon Brown. Vol. I., 1202–1509. London, 1864.

Campanus, Antonius. Vita Pii II. papae, in MURATORI, Script., III., 2, 969–92. Mediolani, 1734.

Campello, B. Istoria della città di Spoleto. Spoleto, 1674.

Cancellieri, Fr. De secretariis basilicae Vaticanae veteris ac novae libri II. Romae, 1786.

——— Storia de' solenni Possessi de' sommi pontefici detti anticamenti processi o processioni dopo la loro coronazione dalla basilica Vaticana alla Lateranense. Roma, 1802.

——— Notizie storiche delle stagioni e de' siti diversi in cui sono stati tenuti i conclavi nella città di Roma. Roma, 1823.

Canensius, Michael (*Viterbiensis*). Vita Pauli II. Pont. Max. ex codice Angelicae bibliothecae desumpta, in QUIRINI, Pauli II. Gesta, 1–104. Romae, 1740.

Cantu, C., Gli eretici d'Italia. Vol. I. Torino, 1865.

Cappelli, Antonio, Lettere di Lorenzo de' Medici detto il Magnifico conservate nel Archivio Palatino di Modena con notizie tratte dai carteggi diplomatici delgi oratori Estensi a Firenze. (Estratto dal Vol. I. degli Atti e Memorie delle Deputazioni di Storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi). Modena, 1863.

Capponi, G. Storia della republica di Firenze. 2 ediz. rivista dall' autore. Tom. II. Firenze, 1876.

Cardella, Lorenzo. Memorie storiche de' Cardinali della santa Romana chiesa. Tomo terzo. Roma, 1793.

Caro, J. Geschichte Polens. Fünfter Theil, 2 Abtheil. (Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten, herausgeg. von Heeren, Ukert und W. von Giesebrecht). Gotha, 1886–88.

Carpesanus, Franciscus. Commentaria suorum temporum, 1470–1526, in MARTÈNE, Coll. ampl., V., 1175.

Cartari, C. La rosa d'oro pontificio. Racconto istorico consecrata alla S^ta^ di N. S. Innocenzo XI. Roma, 1681.

Casimiro, F. Memorie istoriche della chiesa e convento di S. Maria in Araceli di Roma. Roma, 1736.

Catalogus codicum bibl. regiae Monacensis. Monachii, 1858 *seq.* 10 voll.

Cecchetti, B. La Republica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione. Venezia, 1874. 2 voll.

Chalcocondylas, L. Historiarum libri X. ex rec. Imm. Bekkeri. Bonnae, 1843.

Chastellain, Georges. Œuvres publiées par M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, membre de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Tom. IV. et V. Chronique, 1461–1470. Bruxelles, 1864.

Chavin von Malan. Geschichte der heiligen Katharina von Siena. Aus dem Französischen. Dritter Theil. Regensburg, 1847.

Chevalier. Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge. Paris, 1877–83. Suppl. 1888.

Chiocarellus, B. Antistitum praeclarissimae neapolitanae ecclesiae catalogus. Neapoli, 1643.

Chmel, J. Materialien zur Œsterreichischen Geschichte. Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Wien, 1837–38. 2 Bde.

——— Urkunden Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Habsburgischen Fürsten aus den Jahren 1443–1473. Aus Originalen oder gleichzeitigen Abschriften. Wien, 1850. (Fontes rer. Austr., 2 Abth. Dipl. Bd. 2.)

——— Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Herzoge von Mailand von 1452–1513. Aus den Originalen herausgegeben im Notizenblatt zum Archiv für Œsterr. Geschichte, Jahrg. 6. Wien, 1856.

——— Regesten des Römischen Kaisers Friedrich III. 1452–1493. Wien, 1859. 2 Abtheilungen.

Christophe, J.B. Histoire de la Papauté pendant le XV^e^ siècle, avec des pièces justificatives. Lyon-Paris, 1863. 2 vols.

Chronicon Eugubinum italice scriptum a Guernerio Bernio Eugubino. Muratori, Script. rer. Ital., XXI., 923–1024. Mediolani, 1732.

Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom XIV. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert. Herausgeg. von der histor. Commission bei der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. I. Leipzig, 1862.

Chroniken, Deutsche, aus Böhmen. Herausgeg. von Dr. L. Schlesinger. Bd. 3: Geschichte der Stadt Eger von H. Gradl. Brünn, 1884.

Ciaconius, Alph. Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium . . . ab August. Oldoino Soc. Jesu recognitae. Tom. II. et III. Romae, 1677. .

[*Ciampi, Sebastiano*]. Memorie di Niccolò Forteguerri institutore del liceo e del collegio Forteguerri di Pistoja nel secolo XV. Pisa, 1813.

Ciampi, S. Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze dell' Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia etc. Firenze, 1834–42. 3 voll.

Ciampini, J. De abbreviatorum de parco maiori sive assistentium S.R.E. vicecancellario in literarum apostolicarum expeditionibus antiquo statu, illorumve in collegium erectione, munere, dignitate, praerogativis ac privilegiis. Romae, 1691.

Ciavarini, C. Storia d'Ancona. Ancona, 1867.

——— Collezione di documenti storici antichi inediti ed editi rari delle città e terre Marchigiane. Tom. I. Ancona, 1870.

Cicogna, Em. Delle iscrizioni Veneziane. Venezia, 1824–53. 6 voll.

Cinagli, Angelo. Le monete dei Papi descritte in tavole sinottiche ed illustrate. Fermo, 1848.

Cipolla, C. Le signorie dal 1300 al 1530. Milano, 1881.

Clément. Les Borgia: Histoire du pape Alexandre VI., de César et de Lucrèce Borgia. Paris, 1882.

Cobelli, Leone. Cronache Forlivesi dalla fondazione d. città sino al 1498, pubbl. per la 1ª volta sui MSS. a cura di G. Carducci e E. Frati, e note di F. Guarini. Bologna, 1874.

Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae. Herausgeg. von Gersdorf. Zweiter Haupttheil. Dritter Band. Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Meissen. Leipzig, 1867.

Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti. Pars posterior ab anno 1444 ad annum 1492 cura Josephi Szujski (Monum. medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia. Tom. II). Cracoviae, 1876.

Collectio bullarum, brevium aliorumque diplomatum sacrosanctae basilicae Vaticanae. Tom. II., ab Urbano V. ad Paulum III. productus. Romae, 1750.

Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini, Cardinalis Papiensis. See *Ammanati, Jacopo.*

Commines, Philippe de. Mémoires publ. par Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy. Londres et Paris, 1747. 4 vols.

——— Ses lettres et négociations publ. avec un comment. histor. par Kervyn de Lettenhove. Bruxelles, 1867–74.

Contatore, D. A. De historia Terracinensi libri quinque. Romae, 1706.

Contelorius, Felix. Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549 ex bibliotheca Francisci cardinalis Barberini Ep. Portuen. ac S.R.E. vicecancell. Opus posthumum. Romae, 1659.

Coretini, Gaetano, Brevi notizie della città di Viterbo e degli uomini illustri della medesima prodotti. Roma, 1774.

Corio, B. Storia di Milano. Vol. III. Milano, 1857.

Correspondenz, politische, Breslau's, u. s. w. See *Script. rer. Silesicar.*

Corsignani, Pietro Antonio. Reggia Marsicana ovvero Memorie topografico-storiche di varie colonie e città antiche e moderne della provincia dei Marsi e di Valeria compresa nel vetusto Lazio e negli Abruzzi colla descrizione delle loro chiese, e immagini miracolose, e delle vite de' santi cogli uomini illustri e la serie dei vescovi Marsicani. Napoli, 1738.

Cortesius, Paulus. De cardinalatu libri tres ad Julium Secundum Pont. Max. In Castro Cortesio, 1510.

Corvisieri, C. Il trionfo romano di Eleonora d'Aragona nel Giugno del 1473, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., I., 475–492, and X., 629–689. Roma, 1878 and 1887.

Costanzo (Di), Angelo. Istoria del regno di Napoli. Milano, 1805.

Creighton. A History of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation. Vol. II. and III. London, 1882 and 1887.

Cribellus, L. Libri duo de expeditione Pii Papae secundi in Turcas, in Muratori, Script. rer. Italic., XXIII. 26–80.

Cristofani, Ant. Delle storie d'Asisi libri sei. Asisi, 1866.

Cronaca Riminese (Continuatio annalium Ariminensium per alterum auctorem anonymum). Muratori, Script., XV., 927–968. Mediolani, 1729.

Cronaca Sublacense del P. D. Cherubino Mirzio da Treveri monaco nella protobadia di Subiaco. Roma, 1885.

Cronaca di Viterbo di Giovanni di Juzzo, dal 1475 al 1479, in Cronache e Statuti della città di Viterbo, pubbl. ed illust. da J. Ciampi. Firenze, 1872.

Cronache Romane inedite del medio evo pubblicate da Achille de Antonis. I.—Memoriale di Paolo di Benedetto di Cola della Mastro dello Rione de Ponte. Roma, 1875 (Edizione di 150 esemplari numerati).

Cronica di Bologna. Muratori, Script., XVIII., 241–792.

Cronica di Napoli di Notar Giacomo pubblicata per cura di Paolo Garzilli. Napoli, 1845.

Croniche degli ordini di S. Francesco. Venetia, 1597. 3 voll.

Crowe, J. A., und *Cavalcaselle, G. B.* Geschichte der Italienischen Malerei. Deutsche Original-Ausgabe, besorgt von Dr. M. Jordan. Bd. II., III., und IV. Leipzig, 1869–71.

Cugnoni, J. Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini Senensis qui postea fuit Pius II. Pont. Max. opera inedita descripsit ex codicibus Chisianis vulgavit notisque illustravit J. C. Romae, 1883.

Daae, L. Kong Christian. Christiania, 1879.

Dansin, Hippolyte. Histoire du gouvernement de la France pendant le règne de Charles VII. Paris, 1858.

Daunou, C.P.F. Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des Papes. Paris 1811 et 1818. Vol. II.

Denifle, H. Die Universitäten des Mittelalters. Erster Band: Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400. Berlin, 1885.

Desjardins, Abel. Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane. Documents recueillis par Giuseppe Canestrini. Tom. I. Paris, 1859.

——— Mémoire sur la politique extérieure de Louis XI. et sur ses rapports avec l'Italie. Paris, 1868.

Detmars Chronik, herausgeg. von F. H. Grautoff. Hamburg, 1830. 2 Theile.

Diario Ferrarese dall' anno 1409 sino al 1502 di autori incerti. Muratori, Script., XXIV., 173–408. Mediolani, 1738.

Diario Nepesino di Antonio Lotieri de Pisano 1459–1468 pubbl. p. c. di G. Levi, in Arch. della Soc. Rom. di Storia patria, VII., 115–183. Roma, 1884.

Diarium Parmense ab anno 1477 ad 1482, in Muratori, Script., XX., 243–599. Mediolani, 1733.

Döllinger, J. J. I. von. Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Zweiter Band. Erste Abtheilung. 2 Aufl. Regensburg, 1843.

——— Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte. Zweite unveränderte Auflage. München, 1863.

——— Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte. Bd. II. and III. Regensburg und Wien, 1863–82.

Dominicus de Dominicis. Liber de dignitate episcopali ad Pium II. Pont. Max. Romae, 1757.

[*Dressel*] Vier Documente aus Römischen Archiven. Leipzig, 1843.

Droysen, J. G. Geschichte der Preussischen Politik. Zweiter Theil: Die territoriale Zeit. Erste Abtheilung. 2 Auflage. Berlin, 1869.

Dudik, B. Iter Romanum. Im Auftrage des hohen Mährischen Landesausschusses in den Jahren 1852 und 1853 unternommen. I. Theil: Historische Forschungen. II. Theil: Das Päpstliche Regestenwesen. Wien, 1855.

Düx, Joh. Mart. Der Deutsche Cardinal Nicolaus von Cusa und die Kirche seiner Zeit. Regensburg, 1847. 2 Bde.

Du Mont. Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens. Tom. III. P. 1. Amsterdam, 1726.

Ecclesiologist, The, published under the superintendence of the Ecclesiological Society, Vol. XXIX. London, 1868.

Echard, J., et *Quétif, J.* Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti notisque historicis et criticis illustrati etc. Tom. I. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1719.

Egger, J. Geschichte Tirols. I. Bd. Innsbruck, 1872.

Eggs, G. J., Purpura docta, s. vitae, legationes, res gestae, obitus S.R.E. Cardinalium, qui ingenio, doctrina, eruditione, scriptis

etc. ab a. DXL. usque ad aetat. nostr. inclaruere. Lib. III. et IV. Fol. Francof. et Monach., 1710–1714. Acc. Supplementum novum purpurae doctae. Aug. V., 1729.

Ennen, L. Geschichte der Stadt Köln meist aus den Quellen des Kölner Stadtarchivs. III. Bd. Köln-Neuss, 1869.

d' Escouchy, Mathieu. Chronique. Nouvelle édition revue sur les manuscrits et publiée avec notes et éclaircissements pour la Société de l'Histoire de France par G. du Fresne de Beaucourt. Paris, 1863-64. 3 vols.

Eubel, K. Geschichte der oberdeutschen (Strassburger) Minoritenprovinz. 2 Bde. Würzburg, 1886.

Fabisza, X. P. W. Wiadomość o legatach i nuncyuszach apostolskich w dawnej Polsce (1075-1865). Ostrów, 1866.

Fabricius, J. H. Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis ed. Mansi. Florentiae, 1858-59. 6 Tom.

Fabronius, A. Laurentii Medicei Magnifici vita. Pisa, 1784. 2 voll.

Faleoni, C. Memorie historiche della Chiesa Bolognese e suoi pastori. All' Eminent. e Reverend. Signor Card. Niccolò Ludovisio, arcivescovo di Bologna etc. Bologna, 1649.

Fallmerayer, Joh. Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt. München, 1827.

——— Geschichte der halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters. 2 Theile. Stuttgart, 1830-36.

——— Das Albanesische Element in Griechenland. III. Abtheilung. In den Abhandlungen der hist. Kl. der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. IX., Abth. I., S. 1–111. München, 1862.

Falk, F. Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche, zunächst in Deutschland, bis zum Jahre 1520. Köln, 1879.

Falkenstein. Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst. Leipzig, 1840.

Faluschi. Cose notabili di Siena. Siena, 1784.

Fantoni, S. Istoria della città d'Avignone e contado Venesino. Venezia, 1678. 2 voll.

Feeser, Nikolaus. Friedrich der Siegreiche, Kurfürst von der Pfalz 1449–1476. Programm der kgl. Studienanstalt zu Neuburg a. D. 1879–80.

Fels, J. Reichstags-Geschichte (Stadttäge von Anno 1400–1578) Lind, 1769.

Fessler, J. A. Geschichte von Ungarn. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, bearbeitet von Ernst Klein. Mit einem Vorwort von Michael Horváth. Bd. II. und III. Leipzig, 1869.

Fèvre, J. Histoire apologétique de la Papauté depuis S. Pierre jusqu'à Pie IX. Tome sixième : Rapports des Papes avec la France. Paris, 1882.

Fierville, Ch. Le Cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps (1412–1473). Étude historique. Coutances, 1874.

Fincati, L. L'armata di Venezia dal 1470 al 1474, in Archivio Veneto A° XVII. Fasc. 67, p. 31–73. Venezia, 1887.

Fontes rerum Austriacarum. 2 Abtheilung: Diplomataria et Acta. Bd. XLII: Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Œsterreichischen Geschichte im Zeitalter Kaiser Friedrichs III. und König Georgs von Böhmen (1440–1471), gesammelt w. herausgegeben von A. Bachmann. Bd. XLIV: Briefe und Acten zur Œsterreichisch-Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter Kaiser Friedrichs III. Herausg. von A. Bachmann. Wien, 1879 und 1885.

Forcella, V. Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'altri edifizi di Roma dal secolo XI. fino ai giorni nostri. Roma, 1869–85. 14 voll.

Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte. Band 1. ff. Göttingen, 1860, ff.

Foucard, C. Dispacci degli oratori Estensi da Napoli, Roma, Firenze, Venezia etc., 1480, in Arch. stor. Napolit., VI., 77–176, 607–628. Napoli, 1881.

Frantz, Erich. Sixtus IV. und die Republik Florenz. Regensburg, 1880.

Fredericq, Paul. Essai sur le rôle politique et social des Ducs de Bourgogne dans les Pays-Bas. Gand, 1875.

Friedberg, E. Die Grenzen zwischen Staat und Kirche und die Garantien gegen deren Verletzung. Historich-dogmatische Studie. 3 Abtheil. Tübingen, 1872.

Friedrich, J. Joh. Wessel. Ein Bild aus der Kirchengeschichte des XV. Jahrhunderts. Regensburg, 1862.

Frind, A. Die Kirchengeschichte Böhmens. Bd. III. und IV. Prag, 1872–78.

Frizon, P. Gallia purpurata qua cum summorum pontificum tum omnium Galliae cardinalium qui hactenus vixere, res praeclare gestae continentur. Paris., 1638.

Frizzi, Antonio. Memorie per la storia di Ferrara raccolte con aggiunte e note ed il Diario di Ferrara. Vol. V. Ferrara, 1847–48.

Frommann, Ed. Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Buchhandels im XVI. Jahrhundert. Heft 2: Italien. Jena, 1881.

Frommann, Th. Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Florentiner Kircheneinigung. Halle a. S., 1872.

Fulgosus, Baptista. De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea Camillo Gilino latina facta. Mediolani, 1509.

Fumi, L. Codice diplomatico della città d'Orvieto. Documenti e regesti dal secolo XI. al XV. (Documenti di storia Italiana, etc. Vol. VIII.) Firenze, 1884.

Gams, B. Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro apostolo. Ratisbonae, 1873.

Gaspar Veronensis. Vita Pauli II., in Muratori, Script., III., 2, 1025–1053. Mediolani, 1734.

Gaspary, A. Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur. Bd. II. Berlin, 1888.

Gattula, E. Historia abbatiae Cassinensis. Venetiae, 1733–1735. 2 voll. Accessiones. *Ibid.* 1734. 2 voll.

Gebhardt, B. Adrian von Corneto. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Curie und der Renaissance. Breslau, 1886.

——— Die Gravamina der Deutschen Nation gegen den Römischen Hof. Breslau, 1884.

Gebhart. La Renaissance Italienne et la philosophie de l'histoire. Paris, 1887.

Geffroy, A. L'histoire monumentale de Rome et la première Renaissance. Paris, 1879.

Geiger, L. Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland. (Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen herausgeg. von Wilh. Oncken. Zweite Abtheilung, achter Theil). Berlin, 1882.

Geschichten und Thaten Wilwolts von Schaumburg, herausgegeben durch Adalbert von Keller. Stuttgart, 1859 (Bibl. des literarischen Vereins, Bd. 50).

Gingins La Sarra, F. de. Dépêches des Ambassadeurs Milanais sur les campagnes de Charles-le-Hardi, duc de Bourgogne de 1474 à 1477, publiées d'après les pièces originales avec sommaires analytiques et notes historiques. Paris et Genève, 1858. 2 vols.

Giornali Napolitani dall' anno 1266 sino al 1478. Muratori, Script., XXI., 1031–1138. Mediolani, 1732.

Giovanni di Juzzo. Cronaca di Viterbo 1475–1479, in Niccola della Tuccia, Cronache di V. ed. Ciampi, 411 *seq.* Firenze, 1872.

Giuliari, Giamb. Carlo. Della letteratura Veronese al cadere del secolo xv. Bologna, 1876.

Glassberger, N. Chronica, in d. Analecta Franciscana. Tom. II. Quaracchi, 1887.

Goldast. Monarchia S.R. Imperii. Hanau, 1614. 3 voll.

Gori, Fabio. Archivio storico, artistico, archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma. Vol. I–IV. Roma e Spoleto, 1875–83.

——— Viaggio pittorico-antiquario da Roma a Tivoli e Subiaco. Roma, 1855.

Gothein, Eberhard. Politische und religiöse Volksbewegungen vor der Reformation. Breslau, 1878.

——— Die Culturentwicklung Süd-Italiens in Einzeldarstellungen. Breslau, 1886.

Gottlob, A. Aus der Camera apostolica des xv. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Finanzwesens und

des endenden Mittelalters. (Just published by Wagner in Innsbruck. Through the kindness of the Author I was allowed to consult the manuscript.)

Gradonicus, Jo. Hieronym. Pontificum Brixianorum series commentario historico illustrata accessit codicum MSS. elenchus in archivio Brixianae cathedralis asservatorum. Brixiae, 1755.

Grasso, G. Documenti riguardanti la costituzione di una lega contro il Turco nel 1481, in Giornale Ligustico di archeologia, storia, etc. Anno sesto, 321–494. Genova, 1879.

Graziani. Cronaca della città di Perugia dal 1309 al 1491 secondo un codice appartenente ai conti Baglioni, pubbl. per cura di Ariodante Fabretti con annotazioni del medesimo, di F. Bonaini e F. Polidori. Arch. stor. Ital., Tom. XVI. P. 1, p. 71 *seq.* Firenze, 1850.

Gregorovius, F. Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter. Vom v. bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Bd. VII., 1880.

——— Die Grabdenkmäler der Päpste. Marksteine der Geschichte des Papstthums. Zweite, neu umgearb. Aufl. Leipzig, 1881.

Grisar. Besprechung der Werke von Rodrigo, Orti y Lara und Gams über die Spanische Inquisition, in der Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol., III., 548–578. Innsbruck, 1879.

Grotefend, H. Quellen zur Frankfurter Geschichte. Erster Band: Frankfürter Chroniken und annalistische Aufzeichnungen des Mittelalters, bearbeitet von Dr. R. Fröning. Frankfurt a M., 1884.

Grünhagen, K. Geschichte Schlesiens. Bd. I. Gotha, 1884.

[*Guasti, C.*] Due Legazioni al Sommo Pontefice per il Commune di Firenze presedute da Sant' Antonino arcivescovo. Firenze, 1857. (Special publication of 250 copies only.)

Guettée. Histoire de l'Église de France. Tom. VIII. Paris, 1853.

Guglielmotti, Alb. Storia della Marina Pontificia nel medio evo dal 728 al 1499. Vol. II. Firenze, 1871.

Guichenon, Samuel. Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie. Lyon, 1660.

Guidicini, Gius. Miscellanea storico-patria Bolognese. Bologna, 1872.

Haberl, F. X. Bausteine für Musikgeschichte. I. Leipzig, 1885.

Haeser, Heinrich. Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der epidemischen Krankheiten. Dritte Bearbeitung. Bd. I. und III. Jena, 1875–82.

Häusser, L. Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz nach ihren politischen, kirchlichen und literarischen Verhältnissen. Zweite Ausgabe. Erster Band. Heidelberg, 1856.

Hagen, K. Zur politischen Geschichte Deutschlands. Stuttgart, 1842.

Hagenbach, K. R. Erinnerungen an Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Papst Pius II.). Rectoratsrede. Basel, 1840.

Hain, L. Repertorium Bibliographicum. Stuttgart, 1826–38. 4 voll.

Hammer, J. von. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, grossentheils aus bisher unbenutzten Handschriften und Archiven. Bd. I. und II. Pest, 1827–28.

Haselbach, K. Die Turkennoth im xv. Jahrhundert. Wien, 1874.

Hasselholdt-Stockheim. Urkunden und Beilagen zur Geschichte Herzogs Albrecht IV. von Bayern und seiner Zeit. I. Band. 1 Abtheilung, 1459–1465. Leipzig, 1865.

Hautz, J. F. Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg. 2 Bde. Mannheim, 1862–63.

Hefele, K. J. Der Cardinal Ximenes und die kirchlichen Zustände Spaniens am Ende des xv. und Anfange des xvi. Jahrhunderts. Insbesondere ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Würdigung der Inquisition. Tübingen, 1844.

Hefele-Hergenröther. Conciliengeschichte. Nach den Quellen dargestellt. Bd. VIII. *(First vol. of Cardinal Hergenröther's continuation).* Freiburg, 1887.

Heinemann, Dr. von. Aeneas Sylvius als Prediger eines allgemeinen Kreuzzuges gegen die Turken. Programm des herzogl. Karlsgymnasiums in Bernburg. B. 1855.

Helwing, Henr. Christ. Carol. Ernestus. De Pii Pontificis maximi rebus gestis et moribus. Berolini, 1825.

Hergenröther, J. (Anti-Janus.) Eine historisch-theologische Kritik der Schrift, "Der Papst und das Concil von Janus." Freiburg, i. B. 1870.

——— Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und in Beziehung auf die Fragen der Gegenwart. Historisch-theologische Essays und zugleich ein Anti-Janus vindicatus. 2 Abtheilungen. Freiburg, 1872.

——— Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. Bd. II. und III. Freiburg, 1877–80. (3 Aufl. 1884–86.)

Herquet, Karl. Charlotta von Lusignan und Caterina von Cornaro, Königinnen von Cypern. Regensburg, 1870.

——— Cyprische Königsgestalten des Hauses Lusignan. Halle, 1881.

Hertzberg, G. F. Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens bis zur Gegenwart. Zweiter Theil. Vom lateinischen Kreuzzuge bis zur Vollendung der Osmanischen Eroberung, 1204–1470. Gotha, 1877.

——— Geschichte der Byzantiner und des Osmanischen Reiches

bis gegen Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. (Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen herausgeg. von Wilh. Oncken.) Berlin, 1883.

Heyd, W. Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter. Bd. II. Stuttgart, 1879. (Édit. Française réfondue et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur. Traduction de F. Raynaud. Paris, 1885–86). 2 vols.

Historisch-politische Blätter für das Katholische Deutschland. Bd. I.–CIV. München, 1838–89.

Höfler, C. von. Das kaiserliche Buch des Markgrafen Albrecht Achilles. Vorkurfürstliche Epoche, 1440–1470. Bayreuth, 1850.

——— Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen. 3 Th. Wien, 1856–66.

——— Die Romanische Welt und ihr Verhältniss zu den Reformideen des Mittelalters. Wien, 1878.

——— Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Slavischen Geschichte. IV. Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. Hist. Kl. 97, p. 797–913. Wien, 1881.

——— Don Rodrigo de Borja (Papst Alexander VI.) und seine Söhne Don Pedro Luis, erster, und Don Juan, zweiter Herzog von Gandia aus dem Hause Borja. Wien, 1889.

Hörschelmann, E. von. Culturgeschichtlicher Cicerone. Bd. I: Das Zeitalter der Frührenaissance in Italien. Berlin, 1886.

Hoffmann, A. Kaiser Friedrichs III. Beziehungen zu Ungarn in den Jahren, 1458–1464. Breslau, 1887.

Hoffmann, Bernhard. Barbara von Hohenzollern, Markgräfin von Mantua. Ein Lebensbild aus dem XV. Jahrhundert, im 41 Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken. Ansbach, 1881.

Holtzinger, H. Pienza. Aufgenommen und gezeichnet von den Architekten K. Mayreder und C. Bender, in A. Köstlins Allgem. Bauzeitung. Siebenundvierzigster Jahrgang S. 17 ff. und Taf. 16–25. Wien, 1882.

Hopf, C. Chroniques Gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues. Berlin, 1873.

——— Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit. Allgemeine Encyklopädie, herausgegeben von Ersch und Gruber. Erste Section. Bd. LXXXVI. Leipzig, 1868.

Hottinger, J. H. Historia ecclesiastica novi testamenti. Seculum XV., P. IV. Tiguri, 1657.

Huber, A. Geschichte Œsterreichs. Dritter Band. Gotha, 1888.

Jacobus Volaterranus. Diarium Romanum ab anno 1472 usque ad annum 1484, in Muratori, Script., XXIII., 81–203. Mediolani, 1733.

Jäger, Albert. Der Streit des Cardinals Nicolaus von Cusa mit dem Herzoge Sigmund von Œsterreich als Grafen von Tirol. Ein Bruchstück aus den Kämpfen der weltlichen und kirchlichen Gewalt nach dem Concilium von Basel. 2 Bde. Innsbruck, 1861.

Jahrbuch, Historisches, der Görres-Gesellschaft, redigirt von Hüffer, Gramich und Grauert. 10 Bde. Münster und München, 1880–89.

Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen. Bd. I. ff. Berlin, 1880, ff.

Janitschek, H. Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance in Italien und die Kunst. Vier Vorträge. Stuttgart, 1879.

Janner, F. Geschichte der Bischöfe von Regensburg. Dritter Band. Regensburg, 1886.

Jannucelli. Memorie di Subiaco. Genova, 1856.

Janssen, Joh. Frankfurts Reichscorrespondenz nebst anderen verwandten Actenstücken von 1376–1519. Des zweiten Bandes erste Abtheilung (1440–1486). Freiburg i. B., 1866.

——— Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Bd. I. 14. Aufl. Freiburg i. B., 1888.

Janus (Döllinger, Huber u. a.). "Der Papst und das Concil." A much fuller and revised edition based on the Article entitled, *Das Concil und die Civiltà*, which appeared in the "Augsburger Allg. Zeitung.". Leipzig, 1869.

Jean de Reilhac, secrétaire, maître des comptes, général des finances et ambassadeur des rois Charles VII., Louis XI., et Charles VIII. Documents pour servir a l'histoire de ces règnes de 1455 à 1499. Paris, 1886–87. 2 vols.

Infessura, Stef. Diario della città di Roma. Muratori, Script., III., 2, 1111–1252.

Joannis, G. Chr. Scriptores rerum Mogunticarum. Francofurti, 1723–27. 3 voll.

Jordan, M. Das Königthum Georgs von Podiebrad. Leipzig, 1861.

Istoria Bresciana (Memorie delle guerre contra la Signoria di Venezia dall' anno 1437 sino al 1468 di Cristoforo da Soldo Bresciano). Muratori, Script., XXI., 789–914.

Istoria della città di Chiusi in Toscana di Mess. Jacomo Gori da Senalonga. Tartinius, Script., I., 789–1124. Florentiae, 1748.

Kaprinai, Steph. Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Matthiae de Hunyad. Pars II. Vindobonae, 1771.

Katholik, Der, Zeitschrift für Kathol. Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben. Jahrg., 1–69. Strassburg und Mainz, 1820–89.

Katona, Steph. Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis mixtae. Tom. VI., Ordine XIII., Pars II. *seq.* Pestini, 1780.

Keiblinger, F. A. Geschichte des Benedictinerstiftes Melk in Niederösterreich, seiner Besitzungen und Umgebungen. Bd. I. Wien, 1867.

Kervyn de Lettenhove. See *Commines.*

Kinkel, G. Kunst und Künstler am päpstlichen Hofe in der Zeit der Früh-Renaissance, in den Beilagen der "Augsbürger Allgem. Zeitung," 1879, Nr. 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 209, 210.

Kirchenlexikon oder Encyklopädie der Kathol. Theologie und ihrer Hülfswissenschaften, herausgeg. von H. J. Wetzer und B. Welte. Freiburg, 1847–56. 12 Bde. Zweite Auflage, begonnen von Cardinal Hergenröther, fortgesetzt von F. Kaulen. Freiburg, 1882–88. 5 Bde.

Klaic, V. Geschichte Bosniens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Verfalle des Königreiches. Nach dem Kroatischen von Dr. Ivan von Bojnicié. Leipzig, 1885.

Kluckhohn, A. Ludwig der Reiche, Herzog von Bayern. Zur Geschichte Deutschlands im xv. Jahrhundert. Nördlingen, 1865.

Knebel, Joh. Tagebuch, 1473–1479, in Basler Chroniken herausgeg. von W. Vischer und H. Boos. Bd. II. und III. Leipzig, 1880–87.

Kolde, Th. Die Deutsche Augustinercongregation und Johann von Staupitz. Ein Beitrag zur Ordens-und-Reformationsgeschichte. Gotha, 1879.

Kraus, F. X. Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende. 2 Aufl. Trier, 1882.

Kremer, K. J. Geschichte des Churfürsten Friedrich I. von der Pfalz. 2 Theile. Mannheim, 1766.

Krogh. F. Christian den Forstes Romerreise. Kjobenhavn, 1872.

Labbe, Ph. Sacrosancta Concilia. Venet. 1728–33. 21 voll.

Lager, Dr. Die Abtei Gorze in Lothringen. Brünn, 1887.

Lamansky, Vlad. Secrets d'état de Venise: Documents, extraits, notices et études servant à eclaircir les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les Grecs, les Slaves et la Porte Ottomane a la fin du xv.e et au xvi.e siècle. St Pétersb., 1884.

La Mantia, Vito. Storia della legislazione Italiana. I.—Roma e Stato Romano. Roma, 1884.

Landucci, L. Diario Fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516, continuato da un anonimo fino al 1542, pubbl. da Jodoco del Badia. Firenze, 1883.

Lanteri, J. Eremi sacrae Augustinianae. Romae, 1874–75. 2 voll.

Laspeyres, Paul. Die Bauwerke der Renaissance in Umbrien. Berlin, 1873.

Lea, H. Ch. A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. London, 1889. 3 vols.

Lecoy de la Marche, A. Le Roi René : sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires, d'après les documents inédits des Archives de France et d'Italie. Paris, 1875. 2 vols.

Lederer, N. Der Spanische Cardinal Johann von Torquemada, sein Leben und seine Schriften. Gekrönte Preisschrift. Freiburg i. B., 1879.

Legeay, Urbain. Histoire de Louis XI., d'après les titres originaux, les chroniques contemporaines et tous les témoignages les plus authentiques. Paris, 1874. 2 vols.

Legrand. Bibliographie Hellénique. Paris, 1885. 2 vols.

Leibniz. Codex juris gentium diplomaticus. Hanoverae, 1693.

Leo, H. Geschichte von Italien. Theil 3 und 4. Hamburg, 1829–30.

L'Épinois, Henri de. Paul II. et Pomponius Laetus. Revue des questions historiques. Tom. I., p. 278 *seq.* Paris, 1866.

——— Le gouvernement des Papes et les révolutions dans les états de l'église, d'après les documents authentiques extraits des Archives secrètes du Vatican et autres sources Italiennes. Paris, 1866.

Lettres de Louis XI. publ. par Vaesen et Charavay. Paris, 1883–1887. 3 vols.

Leuckfeld, J. G. Antiquitates Bursfeldenses. Lipsiae, 1713.

Liber confraternitatis B. Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe, quem rerum Germanicarum cultoribus offerunt sacerdotes aedis Teutonicae B. Mariae de Anima Urbis in anni sacri exeuntis memoriam. Romae, 1875.

Lichnowsky, E. M. Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg. Sechster Theil. Von Herzog Friedrichs Wahl zum Römischen König bis zu König Ladislaus' Tode. Wien, 1842.

Lignamine, Ph. de. Continuatio chronici Ricobaldini, in Eccard, Corp. hist. med. aevi, I., 1299 *seq.* Francofurti, 1743.

Lilius, C. Istoria di Camerino. Macerata, 1652.

Linde, Antonius van der. Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst. 3 Bde. Berlin, 1886.

Literaturblatt, Theologisches. In Verbindung mit der Katholisch-theologischen Facultät und unter Mitwirkung vieler Gelehrten herausgeg. von Prof. Dr. F. H. Reusch, Jahrgang 1–12. Bonn, 1866–77.

Litta, P. Famiglie celebri Italiane, Disp. 1–183. Milano e Torino, 1819–81.

Llorente, J. A. Geschichte der Spanischen Inquisition. Uebersetzt von Höck. 4 Bde. Gmünd, 1819–22.

Lorenz, O. Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts. Dritte Auflage. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1886–87.

Lünig, Christ. Orationes procerum Europae. Lipsiae, 1713. 3 voll.

Lünig, Christ. Codex Italiae diplomaticus. Francofurti, 1725–1732. 4 voll.

Lützow, Karl von. Die Kunstschätze Italiens in geographisch-historischer Uebersicht geschildert. Stuttgart, 1887.

Magenta, C. I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia e loro attinenze con la Certosa e la Storia cittadina. 1883. 2 voll.

Magistretti, P. Galeazzo Maria Sforza e la caduta di Negroponte, in Arch. Stor. Lomb., XI., 79–120, 337–56. Milano, 1884.

Mailath, Joh. Geschichte der Magyaren. Dritter Band. Wien, 1829.

Makuscev, B. Historische Untersuchungen über die Slaven in Albanien während des Mittelalters. Warschau, 1871. (In Russian.)

——— Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium vicinorumque populorum e tabulariis et bibliothecis Italiae deprompta etc. Tom. I. Vol. I. et II. Varsaviae, 1874–82.

Malavolti, O. Istoria de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi. P. III., dal 1405 al 1555. Venezia, 1599.

Malvasia, B. Compendio historico della ven. Basilica de' SS. dodici Apostoli di Roma. Roma, 1665.

Malipiero, D. Annali Veneti dall' anno 1457 al 1500 ordinati e abbreviati dal senatore Francesco Longo, in Archivio Storico Ital. Tom. VII., P. I. Firenze, 1843.

Manni, D. M. Istoria degli anni santi dal loro principio fino al presente del MDCCL. (tratta in gran parte da quella del P.L.F. Tommaso Maria Alfani dell' Ord. de' Predicatori). Firenze, 1750.

Margraf, J. Kirche und Sklaverei seit der Entdeckung Amerika's. Tübingen, 1865.

Marini, Gaet. Degli archiatri Pontifici. Vol. I.–II. Roma, 1784.

——— Memorie istoriche degli archivi della S. Sede. Roma, 1825.

Mariotti. Saggio di memorie ist. della città di Perugia. Perugia, 1806.

Markgraf, H. Ueber das Verhälthniss des Königs Georg von Böhmen zu Papst Pius II., 1458–1462, im Jahresbericht des königl. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau, 1867.

Martène, Ed. et Durand, Urs. Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum, historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio. Parisiis, 1724. 9 voll.

——— Thesaurus nov. anecdotorum complectens regum ac principum aliorumque virorum etc. Lutetiae, 1717–33. 5 voll.

Marcellino da Civezza. Il Romano Pontificato nella Storia d'Italia, Vol. II. e III. Firenze, 1886–87.

Mas-Latrie, L. de. Histoire de l'ile de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan. Vol. III. Paris, 1855.

Massari, Ces. Saggio storico-medico sulle pestilenze di Perugia e sul governo sanitario di esse dal secolo XIV. fino ai giorni nostri. Perugia, 1838.

Massimo, Camillo. Cenni storici sulla Torre Anguillara in Trastevere. Roma, 1847.

Mazzuchelli. Gli scrittori d'Italia. 2 Tom. Brescia, 1753.

Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (École Française de Rome). Paris, 1881–89.

Mémoires de J. du Clercq sur le règne de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, publiés pour la première foi par le Baron de Reiffenberg. Seconde édition. Bruxelles, 1835–36. 4 vols.

Menzel, C. A. Die Geschichten der Deutschen. Bd. VII. und VIII. Breslau, 1821–23.

Menzel, K. Kurfürst Friedrich der Siegreiche von der Pfalz. Nach seinen Beziehungen zum Reiche und zur Reichsreform in den Jahren 1454–1464 dargestellt. Inaugural-Dissertation. München, 1861.

——— Diether von Isenburg Erzbischof von Mainz, 1459–1463. Erlangen, 1868.

——— Geschichte von Nassau (Fortsetzung des Werkes von Schliephake). Bd. V. (bez. 1). Wiesbaden, 1880.

Migne. Patrologia Graeca, Tom. 161 : Bessarion etc. Paris, 1866.

„ Dictionnaire des Cardinaux. Paris, 1857.

Miklosich, Fr. Monumenta Serbica spect. historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii. Viennae, 1858.

Mittarelli. Bibliotheca codicum MSS. monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum. Venetiis, 1779.

Mittheilungen des Instituts für Œsterreichische Geschichtsforschung, redigirt von E. Mühlbacher. Bd. I.–X. Innsbruck, 1880–89.

Molinet, Cl. du. Historia summorum pontificum a Martino V. ad Innocentium XI. per eorum numismata. Lutet., 1679.

Monumenta Habsburgica. Sammlung von Actenstücken und Briefen zur Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg in dem Zeitraume von 1473 bis 1576, herausgegeben von der hist. Commission der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien. Erste Abtheilung : Das Zeitalter Maximilians I. 3 Bde. Herausgeg. von J. Chmel. Wien, 1854–58.

Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Acta extera. Mátyás. Vol. I.–IV. Budapest, 1875–78.

Moroni, Gaetano. Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni. Venezia, 1840–79. 109 voll.

Müller, A. Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1885–87.

Müller, G. Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll' oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all' anno MDXXXI. Firenze, 1879.

Müller, J. J. Des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Teutscher Nation Reichstags-Theatrum unter Keyser Friedrich V. 3 Theile. Jena, 1713.
Müntz, E. Les Anciennes Basiliques et Églises de Rome au xv^e^ siècle. Paris, 1877.
——— Les Arts à la cour des Papes pendant le xv^e^ et le xvi^e^ siècle. Recueil de documents inédits tirés des Archives et des Bibliothèques Romaines. Paris, 1878–82. 3 vols.
——— Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance. Paris et Londres, 1882.
——— L'Atélier monétaire de Rome. Documents inédits etc. Paris, 1884.
——— Le Palais de Venise à Rome. Traduzione dal francese con aggiunta di documenti inediti. Roma, 1884.
——— La Renaissance en Italie et en France à l'époque de Charles VIII. Paris, 1885.
Müntz, E., et P. Favre. La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xv^e^ siècle d'après des documents inédits. Paris, 1887.
Muratori, L. Antichità Estensi. Modena, 1717–40. 2 vol.
——— Rerum Italicarum scriptores praecipui ab anno aerae Christi D. ad MD. quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit ex codicibus Muratorius collegit, ordinavit et praefationibus. Mediolani, 1723–51. 28 voll. fol.

Navagiero, A. Storia della republica Veneziana (–1498), in Muratori, Script., XXIII., 923 *seq.* Mediolani, 1733.
Nibby. Le Mura di Roma. Roma, 1820.
——— Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma. Roma, 1819. 2 voll.
Niccola della Tuccia. Cronaca di Viterbo. Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo, pubblicati ed illustrati da Ignazio Ciampi. Firenze, 1872.
Nöthen, K. Cl. Geschichte aller Jubeljahre und ausserordentlichen Jubiläen der Katholischen Kirche. Regensburg, 1875.
Notajo di Nantiporto. Diario di Roma dall' anno 1481 al 1492, in Muratori, Script., III., 2, 1071–1109. Mediolani, 1734.
Notar Giacomo. See *Cronica di Napoli.*

Olivi, L. Delle nozze di Ercole d'Este con Eleonora d'Aragona. Modena, 1887.
Olivier de la Marche. Mémoires publiés pour la Société d'Histoire de France par Henri Beaune et J. d'Arbaumont. Tom. III. Paris, 1885.
Orologio. Serie chronologico-istorica dei Canonici di Padova. Padova, 1805.
Oudinus, Cas. Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis etc. Tom. III. Lipsiae, 1722.

Paganel, Camille. Histoire de Scanderbeg ou Turcs et Chrétiens au xv^e^ siècle. Paris, 1855.

Palacky, F. Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und seiner Nachbarlande im Zeitalter Georg Podiebrads, (Fontes rerum Austriacarum. 2 Abth. XX). Wien, 1860.

——— Geschichte von Böhmen, grösstentheils nach Urkunden und Handschriften. Bd. IV. und V., 1 Abth. Prag, 1860–65.

Palmerius, Matthias. Opus de temporibus suis. TARTINIUS, Script., I., 239–278. Florentiae, 1748.

Panvinius, Onuphrius (Veronen). De episcopalibus titulis et diaconiis cardinalium liber ad Alexandrum Farnesium diacon. cardin. editus iuxta exemplum Venetiis expressum a Michaele Tramezino anno 1557. Parisiis, 1609.

——— Romani Pontifices et cardinales S.R.E. ab eisdem a Leone IX. ad Paulum P. IV. creati. Venetiis, 1557.

Papencordt, Felix, Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter. Herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen, Urkunden, Vorwort und Einleitung versehen von Prof. Constant in Höfler. Paderborn, 1857.

Patritius, A. Descriptio adventus Friderici III. imp. ad Paulum II., in MURATORI, Script., XXIII., 205–216. Mediolani, 1733.

Pauli, Sebast. Disquisizione istorica della patria e compendio della vita di Card. Jacopo Ammanati. Lucca, 1712.

Pelayo, Menendez. Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles. Madrid, 1879–80. 2 voll.

Pelesz, J. Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom. Bd. I. Wien, 1878.

Pellegretti, Pietro. Storia del celebre santuario ed immagine miracolosa detta la Madonna delle Grazie che si venera nella campagna di Curtatone distante cinque miglia da Mantova coll' illustrazione dei principali Monumenti ivi esitenti. Mantova, 1858.

Pellini, Pompeo. Dell' Historia di Perugia. Parte seconda. Venetia, 1664.

Perrens, F. T. Histoire de Florence depuis la domination des Medicis jusqu'á la chute de la république. Tom. I. Paris, 1888.

Peruzzi, Agostino. Storia d'Ancona dalla sua fondazione all' anno 1532. Vol. II. Bologna, 1847.

Petrucelli della Gattina, F. Histoire diplomatique des Conclaves. Tom. I. Paris, 1864.

Pezzana, A. Storia della città di Parma. Tom. III. (1449–1476). Parma, 1847.

Phillips, Georg. Kirchenrecht. Regensburg, 1845–72. 7 Bde. (Bd. 8 von Prof. Vering, 1889.)

Pichler, A. Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem

Orient und Occident von den ersten Anfängen bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart. 2 Bde. München, 1864–65.

Picot, Georges. Histoire des États généraux, considérés au point de vue de leur influence sur le gouvernement de la France de 1355 á 1614. Tom. I. Paris, 1872.

Piccolomini, Enea. Alcuni documenti inediti intorno a Pio II. e a Pio III. Siena, 1871.

Pierling. Le mariage d'un Tsar au Vatican. Iwan III. et Zoë Paléologue, in the "Rev. des Quest. Hist." of October 1, 1887, 353–397. Paris, 1887.

Piper, F. Mythologie der christlichen Kunst von der ältesten Zeit bis ins sechzehnte Jahrhundert. 2 Bde. Gotha, 1847–51.

Pius II. Pont. Max. See *Aeneas Sylvius.*

Platina, B. Opus de vitis ac gestis summorum pontificum ad Sixtum IV. Pont. Max. deductum. 1645. (I quote from the Dutch edition, as it is a more correct reprint of the *editio princeps.*) [Venet. 1479.]

——— Historia urbis Mantuae in MURATORI, Script., XX., 609, *seq.* Mediolani, 1731.

[*Platina*]. Vita Sixti IV., in MURATORI, Script., III., 2, 1053–1069. Mediolani, 1734.

Platner-Bunsen. See "Beschreibung der Stadt Rom."

Pontanus, Ioa. Jovianus. Opera omnia soluta oratione. Venetiis, 1518. 3 voll.

Portiolo, Attilio. J. Gonzaga ai bagni di Petriolo di Siena nel 1460 e 1461. Documenti inediti. Mantova, 1870.

Prantl. Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut und München. 2 Bde. München, 1872.

Pray, S. Annales regum Hungariae. Pars III. Vindobonae, 1766.

Prescott, W. H. Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands und Isabella's der Katholischen von Spanien. Deutsche Uebersetzung. 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1842.

Prutz. Staatengeschichte des Abendlandes im Mittelalter von Karl d. Gr. bis Maximilian I. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1885.

Quartalschrift, Tübinger theologische. Jahrgang, 1–71. Tübingen, 1831–89.

Quétif, Jac. See *Echard.*

Quirinus, Aug. Maria (*Cardinalis*). Pauli II. Veneti Pont. Max., Vita praemissis ipsius sanctissimi pontificis vindiciis adversus Platinam aliosque obtrectatores. Romae, 1740.

Rafael (*Maffeius*) *Volaterranus.* Commentariorum urbanorum, libri 38. Parisiis, 1526.

Ranke, L. von. Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation. Sechster Band. Berlin, 1847.

Ranke, L. von. Die Römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten. Bd. 1 und 3. Sechste Auflage. Leipzig, 1874.
Raschdorff. Die Palast-Architektur von Toscana. 5 Lieferungen. Berlin, 1889.
Rasponus, Caes. De basilica et patriarchio Lateranensi libri quattuor ad Alexandrum VII. Pont. Max. Romae, 1656.
Ratti, N. Delle famiglie Sforza-Cesarini, Savelli, Peretti, Montalto etc. Roma, 1794. 2 voll.
Rausch, C. Die Burgundische Heirat Max. I. Wien, 1880.
Raynaldus, O. Annales ecclesiastici accedunt notae chronologicae, criticae etc., auctore J. D. Mansi. Tom. X. et XI. Lucae, 1753–54.
Real Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche, unter Mitwirkung vieler protestantischer Theologen und Gelehrten in zweiter, durchgängig verbesserter und vermehrter Auflage herausgegeben von Dr. J. J. Herzog und Dr. G. L. Plitt. Bd. I.–XIV. Leipzig, 1877–84.
Redtenbacher, R. Architektur der Italienischen Renaissance. Frankfurt, 1886.
Regestum Clementis V. ex vaticanis autotypis S.D.N. Leonis XIII. P.M. jussu et munificentia editum. Tom I. Romae, 1885.
Reinhard. Geschichte des Königreiches Cypern. 2 Bde. Erlangen, 1799.
Reissermayer, J. Der grosse Christentag zu Regensburg. 2 Theile. Regensburg, 1888–89.
Remling. Geschichte der Bischöfe von Speier. 2 Bde. Mainz, 1852–54.
Renazzi, F. M. Storia dell' università degli studj di Roma, detta la Sapienza, con un saggio storico d. letteratura Romana dal sec. xiii. sino al sec. xviii. Roma, 1803–1804. 4°. 2 voll.
Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, herausgegeb. von Schestag, jetzt von J. Janitschek. 12 Bde. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1876–89.
Reposati, Rinaldo. Della Zecca di Gubbio e delle geste de' conti e duchi di Urbino. Tomo I. Bologna, 1772.
Reumont, A. von. Della Diplomazia Italiana dal secolo xiii. al xvi. Firenze, 1857.
——— Geschichte der Stadt Rom. Bd. II. und III. Berlin, 1867–70.
——— Briefe heiliger und gottesfürchtiger Italiener. Freiburg i. B. 1877.
——— Kleine historische Schriften. Gotha, 1882.
——— Lorenzo de' Medici il Magnifico. Zweite vielfach veränderte Auflage. 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1883.
Reusch, H. Der Index der verbotenen Bücher. 2 Bde. Bonn, 1883–85.
Reuss, Sammlung der Instructionen des Spanischen Inquisitionsgerichts. Hannover, 1788.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Livraison 1–91. Paris, 1866–1889. 45 vols.
Richa, S. Notizie istoriche delle Chiese di Firenze. Firenze, 1754. 10 voll.
Righi, B. Annali della città di Faenza. Faenza, 1840. 3 voll.
Rinuccini, Filippo di Cino. Ricordi storici dal 1282 al 1460 ed. Alazzi. Firenze, 1840.
Rio, A.F. De l'art chrétien. Nouvelle édition entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée. Tom. II. Paris, 1861.
Rocchi, A. La Badia di S. Maria di Grottaferrata. Roma, 1884.
——— Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati. Tusculani typis abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae, 1883.
Rodrigo, Fr. J. Historia verdadera de la Inquisicion. Madrid, 1876–77. 3 voll.
Rohault de Fleury. Le Lateran au moyen-âge. Monographie récompensée de la 1re médaille à l'exposition des beaux-arts. Paris, 1877. (One vol. Text and one folio vol. Plates.)
Rohrbacher. Universalgeschichte der Katholischen Kirche. Dreiundzwanzigster Band. In Deutscher Bearbeitung von Dr. Alois Knöpfler. Münster 1883.
Romanin. Storia documenta di Venezia. Tom. IV. Venezia, 1855.
Rosmini, Carlo de'. Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino. Tom. I.–III. Milano, 1808.
——— Dell' Istoria di Milano. Tom. II. III. IV. Milano, 1820.
Rossi, G. B. de. La Roma Sotteranea Cristiana. Roma, 1864–67. 3 voll.
——— La Biblioteca della Sede apost. in Studj e documenti A° V., p. 317 *seq.* Roma, 1884.
——— Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae. Vol. II. P. I. Romae, 1889.
Rumohr, C. F. von. Italienische Forschungen. 3 Theile. Berlin und Stettin, 1827 bis 1831.

Sabellicus, A. C. Opera. Basileae, 1560.
Saggiatore, Il (periodical). Roma, 1844–45. 2 voll.
Sansi, Achille. Storia del comune di Spoleto dal secolo xii. al xvii. seguita da alcune memorie dei tempi posteriori. Parte II. Foligno, 1884.
——— Documenti storici inediti in sussidio allo studio delle memorie Umbre. P. I.–II. Foligno, 1879.
Sansovino, Franc. L'Historia di Casa Orsina nella quale oltre all' origine sua, si contengono molte nobili imprese fatte da loro in diverse provincie fino a tempi nostri. Venetia, 1565.
Sathas, C. N. Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce

au moyen-âge, publiés sous les auspices de la chambre des députés de Grèce. 1e serie: Documents tirés des Archives de Venise 1400–1500. Tom. I. Venise, 1882.

Sanudo, Marino. Vite de' duchi di Venezia. MURATORI, Script., XXII., 405–1252. Mediolani, 1733.

Sanuto, M. Commentarii della guerra di Ferrara tra li Viniziani e il duca Ercole d'Este. Venezia, 1829.

Scharpff, F. A. Der Cardinal und Bischof Nicolaus von Cusa. Erster Theil: Das kirchliche Wirken. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation innerhalb der Katholischen Kirche im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert. Mainz, 1843.

——— Der Cardinal und Bischof Nicolaus von Cusa als Reformator in Kirche, Reich und Philosophie des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Tübingen, 1871.

Schaumburg, Wilwolts von, Geschichten und Thaten, herausgegeben durch Adalbert von Keller. Stuttgart, 1859. (Bibliothek des Stuttgarter literar. Vereins. Bd. L.).

Schilter, J. Juris publici Romano-Germanici tomus posterior. Argentorati, 1697.

Schivenoglia, Andrea. Cronaca di Mantova dal 1445 al 1484 trascritta ed annotata da Carlo d'Arco. Raccolta di cronisti e documenti storici Lombardi inediti. Vol. II. p. 121–194. Milano, 1857.

Schlesinger. See *Chroniken, Deutsche.*

Schmarsow, A. Melozzo da Forli. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst und Culturgeschichte Italiens im xv. Jahrhundert. Berlin und Stuttgart, 1886.

Schulte, Joh. Friedr. von. Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts von Papst Gregor IX. bis zum Concil von Trient. (Gesch. der Quellen u.s.w. von Gratian bis aus die Gegenwart. Bd. II.) Stuttgart, 1877.

Scriptores rerum Silesicarum oder Sammlung Schlesicher Geschichtschreiber, Bd. VII., VIII. und IX. Breslau, 1872 *seq.*

Senckenberg, H. Chr. Selecta juris et historiarum. Francofurti, 1734–42. 6 voll.

Serapeum. Zeitschrift für Bibliothekwissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Literatur. Im Vereine mit Bibliothekaren und Literaturfreunden herausgeg. von Dr. Robert Naumann. Jahrgang 1–31. Leipzig, 1840–70.

Serra, Girolamo. La Storia della antica Liguria e di Genova. Tom. III. Torino, 1834.

Siena, L. Storia della città di Sinigaglia. Sinigaglia, 1746.

Sigismondo de' Conti da Foligno. Le storie de' suoi tempi dal 1475 al 1510. Tom. I. Roma, 1883.

Simonetta, Jo. Historia de rebus gestis Francisci I. Sfortiae Vicecomitis Mediolanensium Ducis in XXX. libros distributa, hoc

est ab anno 1421 usque ad annum 1466 etc., in MURATORI, Script. rer. Ital., XXI., 171–782. Mediolani, 1732.

Sinnacher, F. A. Beiträge zur Geschichte von Säben und Brixen, Bd. VI. Brixen, 1821.

Sismondi, J. S. Geschichte der Italienischen Freystaaten im Mittelalter. Aus dem Französischen. Zehnter und elfter Theil. Zurich, 1820.

Speierische Chronik von 14c6–1476, in MONE, Quellensammlung der Badischen Landesgeschichte. Bd. I., 367–524. Karlsruhe, 1848.

Springer, A. Raffael und Michelangelo. Leipzig, 1878.

Stälin, Ch. Fr. von. Wirtembergische Geschichte. Bd. III. Stuttgart, 1856.

Studi e documenti di storia e diritto. Pubblicazione periodica dell' accademia di conferenze storico-giuridiche. A°-IX. Roma, 1880–88.

Sugenheim, S. Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung des Kirchenstaates. Leipzig, 1854.

Summonte, Giov. Antonio. Historia della città e regno di Napoli. Tomo terzo. Napoli, 1675.

Tartinius, J. M. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab anno aerae christianae millesimo ad millesimum sexcentesimum. Florentiae, 1748–70. 2 voll.

Teleki. Hunyadiak Kora Magyarországon. Tom. XI. Pesten, 1855.

Theiner, A. Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia. Tom. II. (1352–1526). Romae, 1860.

——— Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis. Tom. II. (1410–1572). Romae, 1861.

——— Codex diplomaticus dominii temporalis S. Sedis. Recueil de documents pour servir a l'histoire du gouvernement temporel des états du Saint-Siège, extraits des Archives du Vatican. Tom. III. (1389–1793). Romae, 1862.

——— Vetera Monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia. Tom I. (1198–1549). Romae, 1863.

——— Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum atque Scotorum historiam illustrantia. (1216–1547.) Romae, 1864.

Thomasius, Fr. Historia Senensis, in MURATORI, Script., Tom. XX. Mediolani, 1731.

Tiara et Purpura Veneta ab anno MCCCLXXIX. ad annum MDCCLIX. seren. reipublicae Venetae a civitate Brixiae dicata. Brixiae, 1761.

Tiraboschi, Girolamo. Storia della letteratura Italiana. Tom. V.–VI. Roma, 1783.

Toderini, Teodoro. Ceremoniali e feste in occasione di avvenimenti

e passaggi nelli stati della repubblica Veneta di duchi, arciduchi ed imperatori dell' aug. casa d'Austria dell' anno 1361 al 1797. Venezia, 1857.

Tonduzzi, G. E. Istorie della città di Faenza. Faenza, 1675.

Tonini, L. Rimini nella Signoria de' Malatesti. Parte seconda che comprende il secolo xv. ossia volume quinto della storia civile e sacra Riminese. Rimini, 1882.

Toppi, Nicolò. Biblioteca Napoletana et apparato a gli huomini illustri in lettere di Napoli e del Regno delle famiglie, terre, città e religioni che sono nello stesso regno dalle loro origini per tutto l'anno 1678. Napoli, 1678. Con addizioni copiose di Lionardo Nicodemo alla Bibl. Napolet. del D. N. Toppi. Napoli, 1683.

Tosi, F. M. Monumenti sepolcrali di Roma. Roma, 1853–56.

Tosti, L. Storia della badia di Monte-Cassino. Tom. III. Napoli, 1843.

Tre lettere inedite di Messer Giovanni Mignanelli, oratore della republica di Siena alla corte di Papa Pio II. Pisa, 1869. (Published in honour of the Mazzocchi-Onori marriage.)

Trinchera, Franc. Codice Aragonese osia lettere regie, ordinamenti ed altri atti governativi de' sovrani Aragonesi in Napoli riguardanti l'amministrazione interna del reame e le relazioni all' estero. Volume primo (1467–68). Napoli, 1866.

Tromby, Benedetto. Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca S. Brunone e del suo ordine Cartusiano. Tom. VII. Napoli, 1777.

Tursellinus, Horat. (S. J.). Lauretanae historiae libri quinque. Editio ultima. Coloniae, 1612.

Tuzii, Francesco. Memorie istoriche massimamente sacre della città di Sora. Roma, 1727.

Ughelli, F. Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium rebusque ab iis gestis opus. Editio II. ed. E. Coletus. Venetiis, 1717–22. 10 voll.

Ugolini, Fil. Storia dei conti e duchi d' Urbino. Vol. I.–II. Firenze, 1859.

Ullmann, C. Reformatoren vor der Reformation vornehmlich in Deutschland und den Niederlanden. 2 Bde. Hamburg, 1841–42.

Vaesen. See "Lettres de Louis XI."

Vahlen, J. M. Laurentii Vallae opuscula tria, in the Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akademi, philos.-histor. Kl. LXI., 7–67, 357–444; LXII, 93–149. Wien, 1869.

Vairani, Thom. Augustin. Cremonensium Monumenta Romae extantia. Pars I. Romae, 1778.

Vallet de Viriville. Histoire de Charles VII, Roi de France, et de son époque, 1403–1461. Tome troisième, 1444–1461. Paris, 1865.

Vasari, G. Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori. Firenze, Le Monnier, 1846 *seq.* (nuova ediz. di G. Milanesi, Firenze, 1878).

Vast, H. Le Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72). Étude sur la Chrétienté et la Renaissance vers le milieu du XV^e^ siècle. Paris, 1878.

Venuti, Rudolphinus. Numismata Romanorum pontificum praestantiora a Martino V. ad Benedictum XIV. Romae, 1744.

Vespasiano da Bisticci. Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV., in MAI, Spicileg. Rom., I. Roma, 1839.

Vigna, A. Codice diplomatico delle Colonie Tauro-Liguri durante la Signoria dell' Ufficio di S. Giorgio, 1453–75. Tom. I. e II. in Atti della Società Ligure di Storia patria; Vol. VI. e VII. Genova, 1868.

Villari, Pasquale. Niccolò Machiavelli und seine Zeit. Durch neue Documente beleuchtet. Mit des Verfassers Erlaubniss übersetzt von Bernhard Mangold und M. Heusler. 3 Bde. Leipzig, 1877–83.

Villeneuve, L de. Recherches sur la famille della Rovere. Contribution pour servir à l'histoire du Pape Jules II. Rome, 1887.

Viola, S. Storia di Tivoli dalla sua origine fino al secolo XVII. Tom. II. e III. Roma, 1819.

Visconti, P. E., L. Grifi, G.B. de Rossi etc. Triplice omaggio alla Santità di Papa Pio IX. nel suo giubileo episcopale offerto dalle tre Romane accademie, pontificia di archeologia, insigne delle belle arti denominata di S. Luca, pontificia de' nuovi Lincei. Roma, 1877. 3 voll.

Vitale, F. A. Storia diplomatica de' senatori di Roma. Roma, 1791.

Vittorelli, Andr. Historia de' giubilei pontificii celebrati ne' tempi di Bonifacio VIII. etc. Roma, 1625.

Voigt, G. Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter. 3 Bde. Berlin, 1856–63.

——— Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus. Zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1880–81.

Voigt, J. Stimmen aus Rom über den päpstlichen Hof im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, in RAUMERS "Histor. Taschenbuch." Vierter Jahrgang. S. 44–184. Leipzig, 1833.

Volaterranus. See *Rafael.*

Wadding, L. Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum. Edit. secunda, opera et studio R^mi^ P. Josephi Mariae Fonseca ab Ebora. Tom. XIII. et XIV. Romae, 1735.

Weil, Gustav. Geschichte der Khalifen nach handschriftlichen, grösstentheils noch unbenutzten Quellen bearbeitet. Fünfter Band: Das Khalifat unter den cirkassischen Mamelukensultanen von Aegypten, 1390–1517 n. Chr. Stuttgart, 1862.

[*Weiss, A.M.*] Vor der Reformation. Drei Aufsätze in den Histpolit. Blättern LXXIX., 17–41, 98–125, 185–216. München, 1877.

Weiss, J. B. Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte. Zweite, verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Dritter Band: Die christliche Zeit. II. 2 Hälfte: Das Mittelalter in seinem Ausgang. Wien, 1879.

Wolfii, Joh. Lectionum mirabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI. 2 Tom. Lauingae, 1600.

Woltmann. Geschichte der Malerei, fortgesetzt von Woermann. Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1882.

Würdtwein. Nova subsidia dipl. Heidelbergae, 1781. 14 voll.

Yriarte, Charles. Un condottiere au XV^e^ siècle. Rimini. Études sur les lettres et les arts à la cour des Malatesta d'après les papiers d'état des Archives d'Italie. Paris, 1882.

Zaun, J. Rudolf von Rüdesheim, Fürstbischof von Lavant und Breslau. Ein Lebensbild aus dem XV. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt a. M., 1881.

Zeissberg, H. Die Polnische Geschichtschreibung des Mittelalters. Leipzig, 1873.

Zeller, J. Italie et Renaissance. Politique, Lettres, Arts. Nouvelle édit. P. II. Paris, 1883.

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. In Verbindung mit der historisch-theologischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig nach Illgen und Niedner herausgeg. von Kahnis. Jahrg. 1850–74. Gotha.

Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, redigirt von Dr. J. Wieser und Dr. F. Stentrup, später von Dr. H. Grisar. Innsbruck, 1877–89. I.–XIII.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte in Verbindung mit W. Gass, H. Reuter und A. Ritschl herausgeg. von. Th. Brieger. Gotha, 1877–89. Bd. I.–XI.

Zeitschrift, Historische, herausgeg. von Heinrich von Sybel., Bd. I.–LXIII. München und Leipzig, 1859–89.

Zinkeisen, J. M. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa, 2 Theile. Gotha, 1840–54.

Zurita, G. Anales de la Corona de Aragon. Vol. III.–IV. Zaragoza, 1610.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME III.

CHAPTER I.

Pius II.

A.D.		PAGE
1447–1455	Under Nicholas V., the Renaissance took root in Rome	3
1455–1458	Calixtus III. attempts to save Christendom from the Turks	3
	His efforts not seconded by the Princes of Europe	4
1458	His Death and that of Cardinal Capranica	4
	Divisions among the Cardinals	5
	The Italian powers favour Cardinal Piccolomini	7
	The entry into Conclave	8
	A Capitulation drawn up by the Cardinals	10
	Efforts of d'Estouteville against Piccolomini	11
	Influence of Cardinal Barbo in his favour	12
	He is elected Pope by the method called "accessus"	13
	He takes the name of Pius II.	14
	Cardinal Colonna's share in the election	15
	Popularity of the election in Rome and throughout Italy	16
	Satisfaction of the Emperor Frederick III.	17
	Bad health of Pius II.	18
	His great ability	18
	His one object, to unite Christendom against Islam	19
	He recognises Ferrante as King of Naples	20
	His Coronation	21
	Death of Don Pedro Borgia	21
	Arrival of the Florentine Embassy and St. Antoninus	22
	The Pope urges a War against the Turks	23
	He invites the European Princes to a Congress	24
	His endeavours to restore tranquillity to Italy	25
	The difficulties with Naples	25
	Pius II. concludes a Treaty with Ferrante	26
	Publication of the Bull of Investiture	26

A.D.		PAGE
1458	A Marriage arranged between Ferrante's Daughter and Antonio Piccolomini	27
	Piccinino compelled by Ferrante and the Duke of Milan to submit	28
	Antonio Colonna made Prefect of Rome	28
	Unpopularity of the Pope's departure from Rome	29
1459	Cardinal Cusa made Vicar-General of Rome	30
	Simplicity of life of Pius II.	31
	His outward appearance	32
	His amiability and piety	33
	His love of Travelling	34
	His description of his Travels	36
	Disappointment of the Humanists	37
	Aversion of Pius II. to the false Renaissance	39
	His esteem for Flavio Biondo	40
	He attracts scholars to Rome	40
	He himself composes the Papal Bulls	41
	His literary work, especially his Memoirs	42

CHAPTER II.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE CONGRESS OF MANTUA.

1459	Proposed journey of Pius II.	45
	Mantua fixed upon for the Congress	45
	Foundation of the Knights of our Lady of Bethlehem	46
	The Pope refuses to be dissuaded from his journey	46
	His departure from Rome, January 22nd	47
	Receives the news of Piccinino's submission	48
	Writes to the European Princes	48
	His enthusiastic reception at Assisi and Perugia	49
	Negotiations with the Sienese Government	50
	Pius II. leaves Perugia on the 19th of February	51
	He visits his early home at Corsignano	51
	It is made an Episcopal See	52
	He is coldly received at Siena, February 24	52
	Bestows the Golden Rose on the Prior of the Balia	52
	Many Envoys meet the Pope at Siena	53
	Annoyance of the Emperor at the recognition of the King of Hungary by the Pope	53
	A compromise effected between the Pope and the Sienese	54
	Fresh attempts are made to dissuade Pius II. from the Congress	54
	Some Cardinals endeavour to prejudice Charles VII. against it	54

A.D.		PAGE
1459	Reception of Pius II. at Florence	55
	Death of St. Antoninus, May 2nd, and Election of his Successor	56
	Pius II. crosses the Appenines and enters Bologna on the 9th of May	57
	Unfriendly feeling in Bologna	57
	His magnificent reception at Ferrara on the 17th of May	58
	He is received at Mantua by the Duchess of Milan, on the 27th of May	59
	Pius II. finds no Princes or Envoys awaiting him at Mantua	60
	He opens the Congress with a solemn Mass	61
	He refuses to leave Mantua	62
	Hostile attitude of many Cardinals, especially Cardinal Scarampo	62
	Loyalty of Cardinals Bessarion and Torquemada	63
	Indifference of the European Princes	63
	Excuses of the Emperor Frederick III.	64
	His intrigues against the King of Hungary	64
	The Pope remonstrates with him in vain	65
	War declared betweeen Frederick III. and Matthias Corvinus	66
	Delay of the German Princes	67
	Hostile attitude of France	68
	The Italian powers hold back on account of commercial interests	69
	Thomas Palaeologus implores help	69
	Arrival of the representatives of the Kings of Hungary and Naples	70
	Arrival of the Duke of Cleves, representing the Duke of Burgundy	71
	Excuses of the Burgundian Envoys	72
	They leave Mantua, together with the Lord of Chimay	73
	Arrival of the Duke of Milan in September	73
	Insurrection breaks out in Naples	74
	Supported by the Duke of Calabria (the French Claimant)	75
	The Pope supports Ferrante	75
	Arrival of Embassies from the Italian powers	75
	Delay of the Venetians	76
	Who arrive in September	77
	The first sitting of the Congress is held on the 26th of September	78
	Pius II. makes an eloquent address	79
	Cardinal Bessarion replies for the Sacred College	81

A.D.		PAGE
1459	The Congress resolves on War against the Turks	82
	The Pope consults the Italian States	83
	The Republic of Venice makes impossible conditions	85
	Departure of the Duke of Milan on the 2nd of October	86
	Arrival of the Envoys from Saxony, and reception in Consistory on the 19th of October	87
	Pius II. visits the Church of S^ta^ Maria delle Grazie	87
	Embassy of the Archduke Albert of Austria	87
	Insolent demeanour of Gregor Heimburg	88
	Envoys arrive from France and Germany—hostility of Charles VII. to the Crusade	88
	Pius II., in addressing the French, insists on the plenitude of the Papal power	89
	The French Envoys attack the Pope's policy towards Naples	90
	The Pope receives the Imperial and other German Envoys	90
	Reply of Pius II. to the French—his defence of his conduct	91
	He condemns the Pragmatic Sanction	93
	And shows his displeasure to the Envoys of the Duke of Calabria	93
	The French and English Envoys refuse assistance	94
	Disputes between the German representatives	95
	Which are fomented by Heimburg	95
	But at last some assistance is promised	95
	A Diet to be held at Nuremberg, to which all German Princes are invited	96
	The Emperor appointed Commander of the German contingent	97
	Confidence of the Pope in the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg	97
	Indulgences granted for the Crusade	98
	Papal contributions to the Crusade	98
1460	Close of the Congress—departure of the Pope to Siena on the 19th of January	99
	Pius II. condemns appeals to a Council	100

CHAPTER III.

THE CONTEST FOR THE NEAPOLITAN THRONE.

1460	War breaks out between King René and Ferrante	102
	The Duke of Calabria leads a fruitless naval expedition	102
	Insurrection in Naples—attitude of the Italian powers	103

A.D.		PAGE
1460	The Pope and the Duke of Milan espouse Ferrante's cause	103
	Ferrante is defeated at Sarno by the Angevines	104
	Piccinino attacks the Milanese—a drawn battle	104
	Indecision of Pius II. Concessions of Ferrante	105
	The Pope sends his nephew Antonio to occupy Terracina	106
	The strife in Naples produces disturbances in Rome	106
	The Governor asks for military assistance	107
	The Savelli, Colonna, and Anguillara join the revolt	107
	The rebels take Tiburzio di Maso for their leader	108
	Piccinino attacks the Papal States, and threatens Rome	109
	Pius II. is met by the Roman Envoys at Viterbo—His reproaches	110
	He returns to Rome. Capture and execution of Tiburzio	111
	The Pope tries to make peace with Jacopo Savelli	112
1461	Piccinino retires to the Abruzzi. Revolution in Genoa	113
	Federigo of Urbino compels Savelli to capitulate	114
	Fresh disturbances in Rome	115
	The Pope retires to Tivoli for the summer	116
	Character of Sigismondo Malatesta—his hostility to the Pope	116
	He defies the Pope's Excommunication	117
	He builds the "Temple of Malatesta"	118
	Defeat of the Papal expedition against Malatesta	119
	The Venetians and Piccinino encourage Malatesta	120
	Precarious position of Pius II.—his indecision	121
	Marriage of his nephew Antonio with Ferrante's daughter	121
1462	Embassy from Louis XI. to the Pope	121
	Defeat of the Angevines by Ferrante and Sforza	122
1463	Final defeat of the Duke of Calabria, who returns to Provence	123
	Ambition of Antonio Piccolomini. Nepotism of Pius II.	123
	Pius II.'s attachment to Siena—he is surrounded by Sienese	124
	He resolves to crush Malatesta	125
1462	Who is defeated at Sinigaglia by Federigo of Urbino	126
	The Venetians plead his cause in vain	126
1463	The Siege of Fano, which is taken by the Papal troops	127
	Malatesta is pardoned, but his power is destroyed	128

CHAPTER IV.

OPPOSITION TO PAPAL AUTHORITY.

A.D.		PAGE
1460	Opposition to Papal authority in France and Germany	129
	The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (July 7, 1438)	129
	Efforts of different Popes to procure its repeal	130
	Its results as described by Pius II.	131
	His prohibition at Mantua of appeals to a Council directed against the Pragmatic Sanction	132
	Irritation in France. Insulting protest of Charles VII.	132
	Apprehensions of the Pope—he ignores the appeal of Charles VII.	133
	The Dauphin promises to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction	134
1461	Death of Charles VII., July 22	134
	Accession of the Dauphin to the throne of France as Louis XI.	134
	Pius II. sends Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, to negotiate with him	135
	Ambitious motives of Jouffroy	136
	Louis XI. demands the Cardinal's Hat for Jouffroy and d'Albret	137
	Pius II. creates them Cardinals in spite of the objections of the Sacred College	138
	Louis XI. revokes the Pragmatic Sanction	138
	Joy of the Pope, who sends Louis XI. a Consecrated Sword	139
	Gregorio Lolli on the revocation	139
1462	Jouffroy represents the repeal as dependent on affairs at Naples	140
	Louis threatens to call an Anti-Roman Council	141
	Anxiety and Indecision of the Pope	142
	He confides his uncertainty to Carretto, the Milanese Ambassador	142
	And explains the difficulty of his position	143
	Carretto encourages the Pope to continue his support to Ferrante	145
	And points out the danger of yielding to French influence in Italy	146
	Arrival of the French Embassy in Rome	147
	Carretto holds interviews with the Cardinals and the Pope	147
	Pius II. decides to uphold Ferrante—his interview with Jouffroy	148
	Solemn reception of the French Ambassadors	149

A.D.		PAGE
1462	Proposals of Louis XI.	149
	Reply of Pius II. The Cardinal's Hat conferred upon Jouffroy	150
	The Pragmatic Sanction unconditionally revoked	150
	Great Joy in Rome. Importance of the event	151
	Interviews between Pius II. and the French Ambassadors	152
	The Pope refuses to give way. Louis's offers are conditional	152
	Departure of the French Ambassadors—their threatening language	153
1463	Estrangement between Pius II. and Louis XI.	154
	Intrigues of Cardinal Jouffroy	155
	Alarming rumours from France	155
	Hostility of Louis XI.—his understanding with the national party	156
	Revival of the Gallican liberties	156
	Disorganisation of the Empire	157
1460	Two factions—headed by the Houses of Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern	158
	War breaks out between them	159
	Mission of Cardinal Bessarion	159
	Opening of the Diet of Nuremberg—Bessarion's Address	160
	His entreaties are useless—a fresh Diet meets at Worms	161
	War breaks out on the Rhine. The Diet at Worms is a failure	161
	Pius II.'s efforts in favour of Hungary	162
	Postponement of the Diet of Vienna	163
	Defeat of Albert of Brandenberg. Defection of the Archbishop of Mayence	164
	Character and Life of Archbishop Diether of Mayence	165
	The confirmation of his election obtained with difficulty	166
	Pecuniary conditions which Diether fails to keep	167
	The sentence of lesser Excommunication pronounced against him	168
	He leads the opposition to the Pope at the Diet of Vienna	168
	None of the German Princes attend the Diet	168
	Opposition of the Envoys—anger of Bessarion	169
	He asks to be recalled, and is refused	170
	The Pope encourages him to persevere	170
1461	Proposals of Pius II. Letter from Bessarion	172
	Bessarion justifies his conduct as to levying the Tithe	173
	Bessarion leaves Germany	175

A.D.		PAGE
1461	Diether and the Count Palatine bind themselves to assist George Podiebrad	176
	Diet of Bamberg—failure of the anti-Papal party	177
	Diether takes Heimburg into his service	177
1452	Cardinal Cusa in the Tyrol—his zeal for reform	178
	Opposition of the Poor Clares at Brixen	179
	Dispute with Sigismund as to the jurisdiction over the Convent of Sonnenburg	180
	Resistance of the Nuns—Calixtus III. recommends a compromise in vain	181
	Cusa claims the rank of a Prince of the Empire, denied by Sigismund	182
1457	Hostility shown to Cusa—his flight to Andraz	183
	Sigismund threatened with Excommunication by Calixtus III.	183
	Sigismund appeals against the Papal Bull—intervention of Heimburg	184
1458	Claims of Cusa at the Diet of Bruneck. Interdict not acknowledged	184
1459	Mediation of Pius II. at Mantua—his efforts frustrated	185
1460	Cusa renews the Interdict—he is imprisoned by Sigismund	186
	Indignation of Pius II.—he summons Sigismund to appear before him	186
	Sigismund refuses to obey, and is excommunicated	186
	Sigismund, instigated by Heimburg, appeals to a General Council	187
	The German Princes take his side against the Pope	187
	Sigismund draws up a Memorial against the Pope	188
	Excommunication of Heimburg—his rage	189
	Reply of Teodoro de' Lelli, and retort of Sigismund	190
1461	Pius II. summons the Tyrolese Rebels to appear before him—they issue a violent manifesto	191
	Excommunication of Heimburg	191
	Alliance between Sigismund and Diether	192
	Diet of Nuremburg—anti-Papal opposition reaches its climax	192
	Diether appeals from the Papal judge to a future Council	193
	The Papal Embassy arrives too late—other German Princes appeal	194
	The Electors appeal to the Pope on behalf of Diether	195
	Diether's second appeal—signed by many German Princes	196
	The German Princes consult the French King. The Electoral Union	197

A.D.		PAGE
1461	The Diet of Nuremberg dissolved. Collapse of the Opposition	197
	The Emperor appeals to Pius II. for help. The Pope sends Nuncios	198
	Their success in calming the German Princes	199
	And in isolating Diether, who refuses to yield	200
	Diet of Mayence—attended only by the Tyrolese Envoys	200
	Rudolf of Rudesheim defends the Pope. Promises of the Nuncios	201
	Defeat of the Conciliar party. Fresh attempts of Diether	202
	Adolph of Nassau replaces Diether at Mayence	203
	Diether's violent protestations	203
	His unprincipled and vacillating conduct	204
	Fresh struggle between the Houses of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach	204
1462	Pius II. lays Diether under an Interdict	205
	The Count Palatine supports Diether in defying the Pope, who issues a new Encyclical, May 1st, 1462	206
	Diether celebrates Mass by force—he loses the City of Mayence	207
	The Archbishop of Cologne arranges a truce	207
1463	Diether resigns and receives Absolution	208
1464	Reconciliation of the Count Palatine Frederick	209
	Obstinacy of Sigismund	209
	Mediation of the Emperor	210
	His terms of peace accepted. Death of Cusa	211
	Reconciliation of Sigismund	211

CHAPTER V.

ATTEMPTED RECONCILIATION OF BOHEMIA WITH THE CHURCH.

1448	Prevalence of Heresy in Bohemia	213
	Failure of the Compact between Bohemia and the Council of Basle	213
	The Utraquist Clergy do not fulfil the conditions of the Compact	214
	Administration of the Eucharist under one kind forbidden by the Councillors of Prague	214
	The Compact never recognised by the Holy See	215
	Its efforts frustrated by the fanaticism of the Czechs	215
	Accession of George Podiebrad—his two contradictory Oaths	216
	His duplicity and fair promises	217

A.D.		PAGE
1459	Podiebrad is invited to the Congress of Mantua	217
	Rokyzana procures Decrees against the Church	218
	Pius II. requires a public profession of obedience from George Podiebrad	218
	He styles him King at Mantua	219
	Podiebrad is not represented at the Congress	219
	Nuncios sent to settle his differences with the people of Breslau	220
	They effect a settlement, but Podiebrad delays coming to Mantua	220
	He desires to win the Crown of Germany by help of the Pope	221
1461	And proposes to effect the reunion of Bohemia with the Church	222
	Excitement in Bohemia. The King recognises Utraquism	222
1462	Distrust of Podiebrad at Rome. The submission of Breslau postponed	223
	Podiebrad sends the Embassy to Rome—its double purpose	224
	Feeling against Podiebrad in Rome	224
	Improved position of the Papacy	225
	Reception of the Bohemian Envoys by the Pope—Utraquist Address	226
	Reply of Pius II.—he condemns the Compact	227
	And in open Consistory refuses to recognise it	228
	The Compact is formally abolished	229
	Podiebrad dares not fulfil his engagement to abolish the Compact	230
	The Pope sends Fantino de Valle to Prague	231
	Marini's project of revolutionising the European system	231
	Which finds favour nowhere	232
	The Pope publishes Podiebrad's Coronation Oath	232
	Podiebrad openly declares himself an Utraquist	233
	And rejects Fantino's demand to abolish the Compact	234
	The Nuncio denounces the Compact—rage of Podiebrad	235
	Effect of the Nuncio's speech—he is imprisoned	236
	Podiebrad endeavours to temporise. Fantino is released	236
	The Emperor undertakes to mediate	237
	Marini's intrigues at the French Court	237
1463	They are counteracted by Pius II.	238
	The Pope delays to take action against Podiebrad	238
1464	Proceedings against him stopped by the death of Pius II.	239

CHAPTER VI.

THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1460–1463.

A.D.		PAGE
1459	Rapid progress of the Turkish power. Fall of Servia and of the Morea. Anxiety of Pius II.	240
1460	The Italian powers refuse the Tithes for the Crusade	242
	The Pope sends Collectors to all the European States	243
	General Indifference—small results obtained	244
	Arrival of an Envoy from the Eastern Patriarchs promising obedience	245
	The genuineness of the Embassy doubtful	246
	A fresh Embassy arrives from the far East, welcomed by Pius II.	247
	Its doubtful character — deceit of its interpreter, Fra Lodovico	248
1461	Arrival of Thomas, the dethroned Lord of the Morea, he brings with him the head of St. Andrew the Apostle	249
	He is well received by the Pope, who gives him the Golden Rose and a pension	250
1465	Death of the Despot of the Morea	251
	His claims descend to the Jagellon family	252
1461	The Queen of Cyprus seeks aid from Pius II.	253
	Her reception by the Pope, and personal appearance	253
	Assistance given to her by Pius II.	254
	She fails to obtain it from the Christian Princes	255
	News of the Fall of Sinope and Trebizond arrives in Rome	255
	Letter of Pius II. to the Sultan attempting his conversion	256
	Representations and promises of the Pope	257
1462	The solemn reception of the head of St. Andrew in Rome	258
	Oration of Pius II. in its honour	259
	Rejoicings and Procession in Rome	260
	Discovery of Alum-beds at Tolfa	261
	Which greatly increase the Pope's revenue	262
	Lesbos falls into the hands of the Turks	263
1463	Mahomet II. attacks Bosnia—its disturbed condition	264
	Conquest of Bosnia	265
	The Bosnian Christians allowed the free exercise of their religion	266
	The King of Bosnia is beheaded—the Queen-mother takes refuge in Rome	266
	Pius II. undertakes to lead the crusade	267

CHAPTER VII.

PLANS OF REFORM.

A.D.		PAGE
1458	Pius II. appoints a Commission to consider the reform of the Roman Court	269
	Cardinal Cusa's scheme of reform of the whole Church	270
	Rule for the three Visitors chosen to execute the reform	271
	His plan for reforming the Court of Rome	272
	Domenichi's scheme of reform of the Roman Court	273
	He condems nepotism and the plurality of benefices	274
	Pius II. abandons the idea of a general reform	275
1460	He corrects certain local abuses	276
	His zeal for the restoration of Monastic Discipline	277
	Deposition of Martial Auribelle, General of the Dominicans	278
1461	The Benedictine Congregation at Bursfield	279
	Opposition of the Nobility to the reform of the Abbey	280
	Love of Pius II. for the Franciscan Observantines	280
	The zeal of the Observantines for reform and missionary work	281
	Pius II. condemns negro slavery, which had just begun to appear—he defends the Jews	282
	Bull of Retractation of Pius II.	283
	He defends the Monarchical Constitution of the Church	284
	And resists the encroachments of temporal Princes	285
	His many censures against heresies	285
	Dispute between the Franciscans and Dominicans	286
	Pius II. in vain forbids public discussion on the subject of the Precious Blood	287
1462	After a great disputation decides in favour of the Dominicans	288
	His solemn observance of the Feast of Corpus Christi	288
1461	The Canonisation of St. Catherine of Siena	290
	Pius II. draws up the Bull of Canonisation	291
	Rejoicings in Italy—memorials of the Saint in Siena and Rome	292
	Necessity of creating new Cardinals	293
1460	Pius II. creates six new Cardinals	294
	Merits of Cardinal Oliva—his early Death (1463)	296
	Five of the six Cardinals published at once—all Italians	297

A.D.		PAGE
1461	Creation of three Italian and three Ultramontane Cardinals	298
	Good Humanist culture of Cardinals Roverella and Ammanati	299
	Ammanati a favourite of Pius II.	300
1462	Publication of the name of the Archbishop of Salzburg	300
	Pius II.'s appreciation and patronage of Art	301
1463	Pius II. embellishes St. Peter's—building the Tribune for Benediction, and the new Chapel of St. Andrew	302
	His repairs in the City and Churches	303
	His love and protection of the ruins in Rome and the Campagna	304
	Memorials of Pius II. at Siena	304
1462	He built a Cathedral and a Palace at Corsignano, and changes the name to Pienza	306
	Style of the Cathedral, mixed Italian and Gothic	308
	It is celebrated in verse by Campanus	310

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CRUSADE AND DEATH OF PIUS II.

1462	Determination of Pius II. to lead the Crusade in person	311
	The Venetians delay assistance	312
	Cristoforo Moro elected Doge	312
	The Turks attack the Venetian Colonies and seize Argos	313
	Conquest of Bosnia. Vittore Capello urges war with the Turks	314
	Altered tone in Venice—they propose to raise money for the war	315
1463	Peace concluded in Hungary through the mediation of the Pope	316
	Louis XI. refuses to take part in the Crusade	316
	The Duke of Burgundy at length fulfils his promise	317
	The Pope invites the Italian powers to a Congress	317
	Bessarion is sent as Legate to Venice	318
	Venice at length declares war against the Turks	318
	Alliance against the Turks concluded between Venice and Hungary	319
	Skanderbeg attacks the Turks. Reception of the Burgundian Envoys	320

A.D.		PAGE
1463	Good prospects of the Crusade. Meeting of the Italian Congress	321
	Unsatisfactory answers of the Italian States	321
	Reply of Pius II. Selfish duplicity of the Florentines	322
	Their intrigues against Venice	323
	Scheme of Pius II. for the partition of Turkey	324
	He announces to the Cardinals his intention of leading the Crusade	325
	He calls on them to follow him	326
	The majority of the Cardinals agree—details of the enterprise	327
	Regulations in regard to the Crusade	328
	Delays of Florence, Milan, and Siena	329
	Measures taken by the Cardinals to collect funds	329
	Alliance between the Pope, the Duke of Burgundy, and Venice	330
	The Duke of Milan does not join in the Alliance	330
	Publication of the Bull announcing the Crusade	331
	Pius II. provides for the government of Rome during his absence	333
	Excellent effect of the Bull in Italy	333
	The promulgation throughout Europe, where it meets with little response	334
	Efforts of the Pope to promote the Crusade, and promises of aid from the Italian powers	335
	Money raised for the Crusade. The Crusade Account Book	336
	Continued efforts of Pius II. on behalf of the Crusade	337
	Victories over the Turks. Recovery of Vostitza and Argos	338
	Death of the Prince of Tarento	338
	The Doge compelled to join the Crusade in person	339
	The King of Hungary recovers Jaitza. Misfortunes of the Venetians	340
	Defection of the Duke of Burgundy	340
	The Duke of Milan's evasive conduct	341
	His intrigues against Venice	342
	Opposition of the Florentines to the Crusade	343
	General disinclination to the Crusade in Italy	344
1464	Louis XI. forbids the Duke of Burgundy to take part in the war	345
	Distress of the Pope—his threat of Excommunication	346
	More bad news from Greece. Perseverance of the Pope	347

A.D.		PAGE
1464	Pius II. goes to the Baths of Petriolo	347
	He threatens to Excommunicate Louis XI.	348
	His resolution to embark at Ancona for Ragusa	348
	Cardinal Forteguerri appointed Legate of the Fleet	349
	Pius II. leaves Siena for Rome. Agitation of the Cardinals against the Crusade	349
	The Pope's illness—he persists in setting out	350
	Anger of Louis XI—threat of a General Council	351
	Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini appointed Vicar of Rome	352
	Arrival of large numbers of Crusaders in Italy	352
	The Pope takes the Cross in the Vatican Basilica	353
	He leaves Rome for Ancona	354
	Delays at Pisa — many of the Crusaders return home	355
	Cardinal Carvajal appointed to superintend at Ancona	355
	Illness of Cardinal Ammanati	356
	Pius II. at Loreto—he falls seriously ill at Ancona	357
	Disputes among the Crusaders, who are mostly ill-provided	358
	Efforts made to detain Pius II. — he is resolved to go	359
	The insufficient preparations make it impossible to start	360
	A pestilence breaks out at Ancona	360
	The Turks threaten Ragusa—the Pope and Carvajal resolve to embark	361
	Delay of Cardinal Forteguerri and the Venetians	362
	Selfish and intriguing policy of Venice	363
	The Venetian Envoy endeavours to diminish the Pope's naval forces	364
	Venice refuses to find transport for the Crusaders	365
	The transports sent at length arrive too late, the Crusaders having left Ancona	365
	The Venetians attack Trieste—they delay their preparations	366
	Delay in the arrival of the Doge at Ancona	367
	Increased illness of Pius II. Arrival of the Venetian fleet	368
	The Pope receives Holy Viaticum—his address to the Cardinals	369
	Death of Pius II. on the Eve of the Assumption	370
	His death brings the Crusade to an end	370
	Conference between the Cardinals and the Doge. Death of Cardinal Cusa	371

A.D.		PAGE
1464	Terms arranged with Venice. The Pope's body removed to Rome	372
	Departure of the Cardinals for Rome	372
	The Doge returns to Venice—the squadron dismantled	373
	Constant efforts of the Papacy against the Turks	373
	Character of Pius II.	374

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	O. de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan	377
II.	,, ,, ,,	378
III.	Antonio da Pistoja to ,, ,,	379
IV.	Pope Pius II. to ,, ,,	379
V.	,, to the Emperor Frederick III.	381
VI.	,, ,, ,,	382
VII.	,, ,, ,,	382
VIII.	,, to Bernhardus de Bosco	382
IX.	,, to the Emperor Frederick III.	383
X.	,, to King John II. of Aragon	383
XI.	,, to John III., Bishop of Eichstätt	384
XII.	,, to Duke Louis of Savoy	384
XIII.	,, to Frankfort on Maine	384
XIV.	,, to King Charles VII. of France	385
XV.	,, to Cardinal Cusa, Legate at Rome	385
XVI.	,, to Procopius of Rabenstein	386
XVII.	,, to Bologna	386
XVIII.	,, to the Duke of Milan	386
XIX.	,, to Diether of Isenburg	387
XX.	,, to Duke Louis of Savoy	387
XXI.	,, to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg	387
XXII.	,, to Diether of Isenburg	388
XXIII.	,, to the Cathedral Chapter of Mayence	388
XXIV.	,, to Florence	388
XXV.	,, to the Duke of Milan	389
XXVI.	,, to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg	389
XXVII.	The Duke of Milan to his Consort, Bianca Maria	389
XXVIII.	,, ,, ,,	391
XXIX.	Pope Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg	391
XXX.	,, to Duke Louis of Savoy	391

		PAGE
XXXI.	Nicolaus Severinus and Ludovicus de Petronius to the Republic of Siena	392
XXXII.	The Duke of Milan to his Consort . . .	392
XXXIII.	„ „ . . .	393
XXXIV.	Pope Pius II. to Johannes Antonius of Spoleto	393
XXXV.	Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . .	393
XXXVI.	Pope Pius II. to the Conservators of Rome .	395
XXXVII.	„ to Philip, Duke of Burgundy .	396
XXXVIII.	„ to Charles VII., King of France .	396
XXXIX.	„ to Duke Borso of Modena . .	396
XL.	„ to Ferrante, King of Naples .	397
XLI.	Antonio Ricao to Lodovico of Gonzaga . .	397
XLII.	Pope Pius II.'s project of Reform . . .	397
XLIII.	Bartolomeo Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua . . .	403
XLIV.	„ to Lodovico de Gonzaga .	403
XLV.	Pope Pius II. to Aquila	403
XLVI.	„ to the Bishop of Aquila . .	404
XLVII.	Bartol. Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	404
XLVIII.	Pope Pius II. to Bartol. Vitelleschi, Bishop of Corneto	404
XLIX.	Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . .	405
L.	Pope Pius II. to Bologna	405
LI.	Bartol. Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga . .	405
LII.	Martinus Suardus to Lodovico de Gonzaga .	406
LIII.	Gregorio Lolli to Siena	406
LIV.	Pope Pius II. to Frankfort on Maine . .	407
LV.	Ludovicus de Petronius to Siena . . .	408
LVI.	Sigismondo Malatesta to the Duke of Milan .	409
LVII.	Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . .	409
LVIII.	Nicodemus de Pontremoli to the Duke of Milan	410
LIX.	Giov. Pietro Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua	410
LX.	Pope Pius II. to Bishop Ernest of Hildesheim .	411
LXI.	Archbishop of Mayence to Ernest of Hildesheim	411
LXII.	Otto de Carretto to the Duke of Milan . .	412
LXIII.	Pope Pius II. to Piero de' Medici . . .	413
LXIV.	Gregorio Lolli to Siena	413
LXV.	The Version of the "Memoirs of Pius II." .	415

BOOK I.

PIUS II. 1458-1464.

PIUS II. 1458–1464.

UNDER Nicholas V., the founder of the Vatican Library, that great movement in the history of culture, which we call the Renaissance, had fairly taken root in Rome. The capital of Christendom, now become the centre of learning and art, was flooded with the light of the new dawn.

Then came the fall of Constantinople; a shock, of which the reverberations have not yet died away. It soon became only too clear that this victory of the Turks had dealt a grievous blow to all the Western Nations. "The Turkish power in all the fierce strength of its eager youth took the place of the worn-out Eastern Empire, and challenged the whole of Europe. It seemed for a time as if the Cross must succumb in the battle."* A ruder and more anxious task than the peaceful labours of Nicholas V. in the cause of Literature and Art was allotted to his successor. Calixtus III. rightly judged that the main object of his life must be to save Christendom and Western culture from being overwhelmed by the flood of Turkish invasion. But in spite of the heroic efforts of the Spanish Pope, who pledged his mitre and his plate in order to raise money enough to equip a fleet, nothing worthy of the cause was accomplished. Not a single Prince or nation came forward to redeem their promises. The fire and enthusiasm which in former days had moved all Europe to fly as one man to the rescue of the Holy

* HEINEMANN, Æneas Sylvius, 2.

Places, now burnt itself out in internal dissensions and jealousies. Not a hand was lifted to check the rapid advance of the Ottoman arms.

One disaster followed another in the East all through the summer of 1458. The Morea and Attica were overrun and devastated by the Mahometan troops. In June, Athens fell; in August, Corinth. The subjugation of Servia was begun in the same month.*

On the very day on which the key of the Peloponnesus was lost to Christendom, the aged Calixtus, wearied and disappointed, at last sank to rest.

The question who should be the next occupant of the Papal throne was now of deeper importance than ever. In addition to the defence of Europe, an even more difficult and dangerous task than this was awaiting him, namely, the internal reform of the Church.

No one appeared more adapted for the solution of this problem than the noble and gifted Cardinal Capranica. His death, from a violent attack of fever, just before the Conclave opened (August 14), was a heavy blow to the Church, for his election was almost a certainty. Rome was plunged in grief. A contemporary writes of him: "He was the most accomplished, the most learned, and the holiest Prelate that the Church possessed in our days." A completely new situation was created, upsetting all previous calculations.

* HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 566 *seq.*; HOPF, 86, 127 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. der Stadt Athen, II., 381 *seq.* (Stuttgart, 1889). Detailed accounts of the successes of the Infidels in Greece reached Rome in the beginning of July; see *Despatches of Giovanni Amidani to the Marchioness Barbara, Rome, July 12th, 1458, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. More bad news arrived from Servia in August. See *Despatches of Nicodemus de Pontremoli and Boccacino to Fr. Sforza, Florence, Aug. 11, 1458, Cod. 1588, f. 117, Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION OF PIUS II.

Aim of his Pontificate to free Europe from the disgrace of Turkish Domination.—Pacific Policy in Italy.—The Pope's character and manner of life.—His attitude in regard to the Humanistic and Literary movement.

The excitement periodically caused in Rome by every vacancy of the Holy See reached an unwonted height in the August of 1458. The confusion was aggravated both there and in the States of the Church by the general movement against the hated Spaniards and Neapolitans, "The Catalans," as they were called, and by the action of Jacopo Piccinino, who had seized Assisi, Nocera, and Gualdo, and was now encamped near Foligno. It was believed, that a secret understanding existed between this "landless Count" and the King of Naples, and that the latter sought by his means to prevent the election of a French Pope!*

The great question which for the time took precedence of all others, was whether an Italian or a Frenchman should occupy the Chair of St. Peter.

Of the eighteen Cardinals who assembled in Conclave

* See Vol. II. of this work, p. 481. Ferrante formally condemned Piccinino's invasion of the States of the Church (see his Letter to Florence, dated 1458, Aug. 20), but his behaviour was unsatisfactory; see Arch. St. Napol., IX., 74 *seq.* Nicodemus de Pontremoli, in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence 1458, Aug. 18, declares that the fear of Piccinino would impel the Cardinals to hasten the Election. Cod. 1588, f. 130, Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris.

on the 16th August, eight were Italians, five Spaniards, two very influential Frenchmen, one a Portuguese, and two Greeks.* The foreigners accordingly outnumbered the Italians, but they did not constitute the majority of two-thirds requisite for an election.

The prospect of an increased preponderance of French influence in the Peninsula caused great anxiety to the Italian Powers, especially to the Genoese, the King of Naples, and the Duke of Milan. The latter Prince seemed almost haunted by his dread of France.† We cannot therefore wonder if on the death of Calixtus the whole weight of his influence was exerted to promote the election of an Italian Pope. Cardinal Capranica was the candidate of his choice. In the instructions sent in cipher on the 2nd August, 1458, to Otto de Carretto, he desires him to use every effort in his power on behalf of this excellent man. Should it be impossible to ensure his election, he must endeavour to obtain that of Cardinal Prospero Colonna. Failing this, he is to be guided entirely by the advice of Capranica.‡ Death silenced the voice of this counsellor on the 14th August; there was no time to receive further instructions, and Carretto was compelled to act on his own judgment. He naturally turned to Cardinal Piccolomini, who was friendly to the Duke, and

* Acta Consist., f. 28, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. xxxi., tom. 52. Here are given the names of the eighteen Cardinals. The *Protocollo del Notaio de Meriliis in the State Archives at Rome mentions only 17. This mistake has led BERTOLOTTI in GORI'S Archivio, IV., 242, erroneously to charge Gregorovius with inaccuracy. CREIGHTON, II., 365, is wrong in making the Conclave meet on the 10th Aug., and PALACKY, IV., 2, 64, in stating that to be the day of the Election of Pius II.!

† See BUSER, Beziehungen, 84, 88 *seq.*

‡ Draft of Fr. Sforza's Instruction of August 2, 1458, in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Z., 219 Sup.

"while Bishop of Siena had laboured to obtain for him the imperial investiture, and the recognition of his legitimacy."* In a despatch of that eventful 14th August, the Envoy expresses his hope of being able, even under these altered circumstances, to bring matters to a sufficiently satisfactory conclusion. "I am," he adds, "not without hope for Cardinal Colonna, but it would be easier to carry the election of the Cardinal of Siena, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; he is liked by all parties, and the Ambassadors of the King of Naples favour him."† On the following day, the Neapolitan, Galeotto Agnensis, wrote to inform Francesco Sforza that he had succeeded in bringing about a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Colonna and Orsini, which had almost always been at variance, and that he was now endeavouring to gain the votes assured to Cardinal Capranica for the Cardinal of Siena, whose elevation would be welcome alike to the Duke and to the King of Naples. "Thank God," continues Galetto, "Cardinal Orsini has consented, and I have a good hope of success."‡

The learned Torquemada and the popular Calandrini were also spoken of by many as candidates for the supreme dignity.§ Piccolomini had, however, far more formidable rivals in Pietro Barbo, and the wealthy and

* VOIGT, III., 65.

† Despatch of Otto de Carretto from the State Archives, Milan; see Appendix N. 1.

‡ Despatch of "Galeoctus" (=Galeottus Agnensis de Neapoli leg. doctor). See State Archives, Florence X-1-52, f. 10, to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 15. State Archives, Milan.

§ La mazor parte stima chel cardinal di S. Sixto Spagnolo succedera: ma rarevolte se indivina. Se si fara Papa Italiano credo tochera a Bologna, perche è bon homo e generalmente ben voluto dal collegio. Antonio da Pistoja to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, July 31st. State Archives, Milan.

distinguished Guillaume d'Estouteville, the head of the French party.

The Conclave was held in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's. Cells, in which the Cardinals were to eat and to sleep, were prepared in the largest hall; a smaller hall bearing the name of St. Nicholas was to serve for the deliberations and for the actual business of the election.* The fact that the Envoys sent to the Sacred College by Ferrante, during the last illness of Calixtus III., were admitted as Royal Ambassadors to watch the Conclave, was much noticed.†

The customary Sermon addressed to the Cardinals before their entry into Conclave was delivered by the Humanist Domenico de Domenichi, Bishop of Torcello.‡ He began with the words from the Acts of the Apostles, I, 24: "Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two Thou hast chosen to take the place of this ministry and apostleship." After pronouncing a eulogy

* Pii II. Comment. 30; see CANCELLIERI, Notizie de' Conclavi, 14–15 (Roma, 1823).

† See the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 14 and 20, State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.; see Appendix N. 2. These Envoys were sent at a date earlier than that given by VOIGT, III., 25, for they were in Rome on the 1st August; see *Despatch of A. Catabenus written on that day. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Rev. patris dom. Dominici episc. Torcell. omnium lib. artium et s. theologie magistri ad rev. S. R. E. Cardinales oratio die (xvi. Augusti according to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see also the Letter of the Bishop of Corneto in SANSI, Saggio, 26), qua intrarunt ad electionem Summi Pontificis habita Rome in basilica S. Petri. Cod. Vatic. 3675, Vatican Library. (At the end, habita Rome, xvii. Cal. Sept. A° 1459 !). This discourse is also in Cod. Ottob. 10, 35, f. 1–10 (the beginning is wanting); in Cod. 2369 of the Brussels Library; and in Cod. C. 20, Chapter Library at Padua. Here it is dated xviii. Cal. Sept. 1458.

on the deceased Pontiff, Domenichi exhorted the electors to lay aside all ambition, intrigue, and contention. The prevalence of the first of these vices was denounced with special severity. "How many," he said, "would in better days have been contented with a small preferment, who now aspire to the highest dignities." After citing several examples from classical antiquity he continued: "Those who wish to be counted as Romans, should take for their models men like Decius, Brutus, Cato, Gracchus, and Regulus, whose glorious deeds, to use the words of St. Jerome, shine like stars in Roman history."

The orator dwelt on the special importance of this election in regard to the badness of the times. "The secular Princes," he exclaimed, "wrangle with each other, and turn against their own flesh the weapons which ought to be directed against the Turks. There has been no peacemaker. The morals of the clergy are corrupt, they have become a scandal to the laity, all order is at an end. Day by day the authority of the Church diminishes, her censures are unheeded, there has been no one to enforce them. The Roman Court is full of abuses. Who has made any attempt to reform it?"*

Domenichi also deals with the Turkish question. He specially deplores the horrors inflicted by these barbarians on Greece.

In conclusion, he points out the important problems which the new Pope would have to solve. "The dignity of the Church must be reasserted, her authority revived, morals reformed, the Court regulated, the course of justice secured, the faith propagated, captives set free, lost cities regained, and the faithful armed for the Holy War."†

* Cod. Vatic. 3675; see the motto of this volume, back of title page.

† Igitur cum restauranda sit dignitas ecclesie, sublevanda maiestas,

It soon became manifest in the deliberations of the Conclave how deeply the Cardinals had resented the high-handed manner in which they had been treated by the late Pope. A Capitulation was drawn up, extending the rights of the Sacred College, and limiting the power of the Pontiff.* The articles of this Capitulation, which was framed on the model of that of 1431, bound the future Pope to carry on the war against the Turks according to the advice of the Cardinals, and to reform the Court to the best of his power; it also enjoined him to consult the Sacred College in making appointments to offices at Court, and in the bestowal of Bishoprics and the greater Abbeys. In future, the Decree of Constance regarding the number and character of the Cardinals, and that requiring the consent of the majority of the Sacred College given in Consistory to their nomination, was to be strictly observed. Several Articles were concerned with safe-guarding the interests of the Cardinals in the matter of Benefices and *In Commendams*. Rights of nomination or presentation were to be granted to ecclesiastical or temporal Princes only with the approval of the Sacred College, and existing concessions contrary to this provision were to be repealed. Moreover, the Pope was not to grant to any one a tax upon the clergy or the goods of the Church. In relation to the government of the States of the Church, the strict limitations imposed upon the Papal power by the Conclave which elected Eugenius IV. were re-enacted. The Capitulation

firmanda auctoritas, que pene conciderunt, componendi mores, ordinanda curia, stabilienda iudicia, dilatanda fides, propagandi fines, redimendi captivi, recuperande civitates, armandi fideles. Hec omnia sapientissimum prestantissimumque pontificem desiderant. Cod. Vat. 3675.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 5–8; see VOIGT, III., 522 *seq.* Regarding the Capitulation of 1431, see our account in Vol. I., p. 284.

contained a new resolution requiring the Pope to allow to every Cardinal whose income was less than 4,000 golden florins, 100 florins a month out of the Apostolic Treasury, until that sum was made up.* Once in every year the Cardinals were to inquire into the manner in which these Articles had been observed, and if they had been infringed, charitably to admonish the Pope three times.

On the third day of the Conclave the business of the Election commenced. In the first scrutiny the Cardinals of Siena and Bologna, Piccolomini and Calandrini, had each five votes, and no other Cardinal more than three. And now those who aspired to the supreme dignity began the work of canvassing. No one was more zealous than the ambitious d'Estouteville, who was closely allied with Cardinal Alain. Our information in regard to the means employed by this leader of the French party is derived entirely from his rival, Piccolomini, who certainly is not an unprejudiced authority.† According to his report, d'Estouteville, on the one hand, made brilliant promises, and on the other sought in every way to depreciate the Cardinals of Bologna and Siena. "How," he asked, "can Piccolomini be thought fit for the Papacy? He suffers from the gout, and is absolutely penniless. How can he succour the impoverished Church, or, infirm as he is, heal her sickness? He has but lately come from Germany; we do not know him; perhaps he will remove the Court thither. Look at his devotion to the heathen Muses. Shall we raise a poet to the Chair

* The monthly allowances were called *Piatto Cardinalizio* (the Cardinal's Portion); see MORONI, LII., 274–6; BANGEN, 45. They are here mentioned for the first time.

† PII II. Comment. 30 *seq.*, with the supplement in CUGNONI, 184 *seq.* Regarding the variations of the Cod. Regin. 1995 of the Vatican Library, see Appendix N. 65.

of St. Peter, and let the Church be governed on Pagan principles?"

The same authority declares that not only Alain, but Bessarion, Fieschi, Torquemada, Colonna, and Castiglione bound themselves by oath to vote for the French candidate. Piccolomini, however, by skilfully insisting on the national aspect of the case, succeeded in winning over Castiglione, and also in obtaining the support of those Cardinals who had been as yet undecided.

The energetic action of Cardinal Barbo was of the greatest importance in the Election. After he had given up all hope of himself wearing the tiara, he determined at least to make every possible effort to obtain it for one of his own nation. Assembling the Italian Cardinals, with the exception of Colonna, he proposed to them that member of the Sacred College who, above all others, was distinguished by keenness of intellect, varied learning, experience of the world, and diplomatic ability,—Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In the following scrutiny, on the 19th August, the latter accordingly had nine votes and d'Estouteville only six!*

The decision was then arrived at by the method called *Accessus*. Rodrigo Borgia was the first to break the hush

* See Pii II. Comment. *loc. cit.*, and the **Report of Otto de Carretto of Aug. 20th, 1458, cited *infra*, p. 14, note ‡, Ambrosian Library, Milan. See also Appendix N. 3. According to the Mém. de J. du Clercq, III., c. 39, fear of a repetition of the Avignon exile weighed in the scale against d'Estouteville. Vast, p. 231, bestows great praise on Zeller's description of the Conclave. The latter, however, makes the extraordinary mistake of confounding the Cardinal of Pavia (p. 27) with Carvajal, who was not at the time in Rome. I did not find in the State Archives at Milan, Carretto's Despatch of the 29th August, translated by Petrucelli, p. 281; there must be a mistake in the date. Regarding the Cardinal of Lerida, erroneously mentioned by Voigt, III., 9, see Vahlen, 62.

of expectation with the words: "I vote for the Cardinal of Siena." A second and longer silence ensued. Cardinals Isidore and Torquemada made a fruitless attempt to adjourn the election, but Cardinal Tebaldo now giving his vote for Piccolomini, only one more was needed. Again there was a pause of breathless suspense. Then, in spite of those who tried to hold him back, Prospero Colonna stood up and said: "I also vote for the Cardinal of Siena, and make him Pope." All then arose and offered their first homage to the newly elected Pontiff. Having returned to their seats, they unanimously proclaimed the election valid, and Bessarion made a speech congratulating the new Head of the Church.*

Piccolomini, who had been only twenty months a Cardinal, was greatly overcome by his election. "The burden of the future fell upon his soul; he understood the height of his calling." Campano, his biographer, tells us that he burst into tears and for some time could hardly command himself. When he had recovered his composure, he said to the friends who were encouraging him, that none could rejoice at being raised to such a dignity save those who forgot its attendant dangers and toils. It was now for

* The hour of the election is variously stated. INFESSURA, 1138, and the Cron. Rom., 26, say *a ore di terza*. The Cronica di Bologna, 726, mentions the 14th hour, and so does Otto de Carretto in a **Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 19th. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. Antonius Catabenus in a *Letter to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 19th, writes: "Ozo a XV. ore vel circa fu creato e publicato per la divina gratia in papa il revmo. olim Monsre de Sena, laus Deo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *Acta Consist., f. 28, say circa horam XVI. Secret Archives of the Vatican. The 17th hour is that given in a letter in the Archives of Spoleto (see SANSI, Storia, 50); the 23rd, 24th by the Notary de Meriliis; see *supra*, p. 6, note*, and GORI, Archivio, IV., 242.

him to accomplish that which he had formerly demanded from others.*

After he had assumed the white cassock of a Pope, he announced that he would take the name of Pius II., and in this name again swore to observe the Capitulation, adding, however, the proviso: "As far as I am able, with the help of God, and consistently with the honour and the integrity of the Apostolic See."†

Besides the account written by the newly elected Pope himself, our sources of information regarding the Conclave of 1458 consist of a few despatches from the Milanese Envoys, the most important of which is one written by Otto de Carretto on the 20th August.‡ It was only natural that the envoy should make the most of his own share in the election; but on the other hand his account of the attitude of Cardinal Colonna is striking. In consequence of the family alliance which we have mentioned between the Orsini and the Colonna, both Cardinals with their adherents agreed, according to him, to elect Piccolomini. Carretto himself gained for him the support of the Neapolitan Envoys, of Cardinal de la Cerda, and of Cardinals Mila and Borgia, the

* CAMPANUS, 947; VOIGT, III., 15. In reference to Piccolomini's elevation, the *Cronica di Forli of Giovanni de Pedrino incorrectly asserts: Era stado fatto vescovo e cardenale e papa in 18 mexe e questo fo tenuda grande ventura. Cod. 234, p. 259b of the Library of Prince Bald. Boncompagni. For an account of the previous life of Æneas, see Vol. I., pp. 340–48, and Vol. II., pp. 139 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*, 419, 458 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 8.

‡ The **Report of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, die xx. Augusti, 1458, is partly in cipher, the interpretation of which, however, is added. Ambrosian Library, Milan, *loc. cit.* The efforts of Colonna on behalf of Piccolomini are twice mentioned in this Report. According to Carretto, Bessarion as well as Barbo aspired to the Papacy.

nephews of the deceased Pope; the two last were influenced by the hope that Ferrante would be favourable to them. The Commentary of Pius II., however, represents Cardinal Colonna as a firm partisan of d'Estouteville up to a short time before the final decision; he alone failed to take part in the deliberations to which the Italian Cardinals were invited by Barbo. The report of the Milanese Envoy, written as it was immediately after the election, is certainly more direct evidence than the Commentary of Pius II., which is of a much later date. On the other hand, we must remember that Carretto, who, in pursuance of the instructions received from his master, was bound to promote the cause of Colonna, had an interest in exaggerating the part taken by this Cardinal in Piccolomini's election. Prospero Colonna himself, after having given the vote which decided the election of Pius II., may have been anxious that his former efforts on behalf of d'Estouteville should be forgotten.* It is to be hoped that future discoveries in the Archives may throw further light on this point. There is, however, no doubt that Piccolomini's election was zealously promoted by the Milanese and Neapolitan Envoys. Francesco Sforza expressly says in his letter of the 14th September that Pius II. was elected through the influence of King Ferrante, and this statement is borne out by the favour which the new Pope shewed to the King of Naples.†

In Rome the election of Piccolomini was welcomed with

* According to the Comment. Pii II., Orsini was for a long time less ardent in Piccolomini's cause than Carretto represents him to have been.

† The **Letter of Fr. Sforza to Joh. de Ulesis, dated Milan, 1458, Sept. 14th, Cod. 1588, f. 151. National Library, Paris. As to the friendship between Piccolomini and the Sforzas, see *supra*, p. 6. In his Letter of Congratulation to Pius II., dated Milan, 1458, Aug. 23rd, Fr. Sforza refers to the fact. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

unmixed satisfaction. The people threw away their arms, and with cries of "Siena, Siena, Evviva Siena!" hastened to St. Peter's to pay homage to the newly made Pope. At nightfall bonfires were kindled, and lights shone forth from all the towers of the city. Jubilant crowds thronged the streets, which re-echoed with songs and the sound of horns and trumpets. Old people declared that they had never seen such an outburst of rejoicing in Rome. The Ambassadors congratulated the Pope immediately after his return from St. Peter's; they found him greatly wearied, but still as witty and genial as when he was a Cardinal. On the following evening the nobles of the city came on horseback, bearing torches, to offer their felicitations. The splendid procession filled the Borgo from the Castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter's.*

At the home of the new Pope at Corsignano and Siena, the rejoicings were naturally very great. The spirit of the Renaissance displayed itself in splendid pageants in most of the other cities of the Peninsula. All the Italian powers, with the exception of Florence and Venice, were delighted at the elevation of the pacific and statesmanlike Piccolomini.†

* Pii II. Comment. 31; REUMONT, III., 1, 135. Illuminations always formed a part of a Renaissance Festival. See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., p. 191, 3rd ed. Carretto's Despatch of the 20th Aug. 1458, speaks of the Ambassador's congratulations. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† NICCOLA DELLA TUCCIA, 71; PII II. Comment. 32, 57; and CUGNONI, 189, regarding the dissatisfaction of Florence and Venice. See also the *Letter of Fr. Sforza to Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Milan, 1458, Sept. 12th; Register in Cod. 1613 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris. For an account of the Festivals in Ferrara, see MURATORI, Annal. Esten., XVIII., 1095–96; in Bologna, Cronica di Bologna, 726, and GHIRARDACCI, Storia di Bologna, III., f. 325* Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna; in Siena, DATHI, Opp. 84–5; ALLEGRETTI, 770; THOMASIUS in MURATORI, XX., 57; MALAVOLTI, III., 60; *Cod. Lat. xi-lxxxiii., f. 169b *seq.* St. Mark's Library, Venice.

Men breathed more freely now that the danger of a foreign Pope had been averted. The fear that a Frenchman might be raised to the supreme dignity is manifested in the reports of the Ambassadors then in Rome. "As your Excellency is aware," wrote Antonio da Pistoja on the 21st August to Francesco Sforza, "we were in great danger of having a French Pope. D'Estouteville and Alain had managed matters in such a way that the Papacy seemed almost certain to devolve upon one or other of them. Thanks be to God, it remains in Italy."*

Beyond the limits of the Italian Peninsula the result of the election was welcomed by all, except France and the other opponents of the Emperor.† Frederick III. was greatly pleased. On the very day of his election, the new Pontiff addressed two letters to him, one official and the other private.‡ He would indeed have scarcely recognised

Pius II. expresses the satisfaction these festivals gave him in a *Brief to Siena, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 29. State Archives, Siena. LEONE, 195.

* See the *Letter in the Appendix N. 3, from the Original in the Ambrosian Library. In the answer of the Florentines to Galeottus Agnensis, who was sent in the beginning of September by Pius II., they say : * "Cum timerent Italici omnes, ne dignitas illa in Ultramontanos transiret cum damno maximo et dedecore Italici nominis summe ipsi letati, scilicet videntes tandem Italum pontificem electum esse." State Archives, Florence, X., 1-52, f. 12.

† It is interesting to learn that the free cities of Germany individually congratulated the Pope. See the *Letter of thanks from Pius II. to the Council of Nuremberg, dated Rome, 1458, Dec. 5th (Non. Decemb.). District Archives of Nuremberg.

‡ The official document is given by SENCKENBERG, IV., 408. VOIGT, III., 17, was the first to draw attention to the *Private Letter, which is in Cod. 215 of the Court Library at Munich. To the copy of the Encyclical of Sept. 4th, given by him (III., 16), we may add TROMBELLI, Mem. Storiche conc. le due canoniche di Sta. Maria di Reno e di S. Salvatore, 258–9, Bologna, 1752.

his former Secretary, so heavily and so quickly had time told upon him. Though but fifty-three, Pius II. was already an old man. His bodily strength was broken, and he suffered much from gout in the feet. This malady had been contracted in Scotland when he went barefooted on a pilgrimage through snow and ice to a Church of Our Lady in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm at sea. The tortures which he endured from the gout were such that he was often quite unable to move. He was also afflicted with stone and with a constant cough. Yet he kept up with surprising energy. "The habit of suffering had given him such mastery over himself, that even when tortured by the stone, he could repress every sign of the anguish he was enduring. But his grey hair and the ashy paleness of his complexion, which became almost livid with the slightest indisposition, bore witness to the ravages of disease. Andrea Guazzalotti's medal, which was considered a masterpiece of portraiture, represents a worn countenance and sunken eyes." *

The election of a poet, historian, humanist, and statesman of European fame, was an event of far-reaching importance. The Papal chair was now filled by a man who really stood at the head of his age, and who was capable of understanding both its past and its present. Amongst his contemporaries there was not one who even approached Piccolomini in the insight he possessed in regard to the moral and

* VOIGT, III., 14. Regarding the medal by A. Guazzalotti, of Prato, see the work of FRIEDLÄNDER, Berlin, 1857; Italian edition, amended and corrected by GUASTI, Prato, 1862; and Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, II., 225 *seq.* Celebrated fellow-sufferers of Pius II. are enumerated by A. CARRADI in the Mem. dell. Acad. delle Scienze di Bologna, X. 419, *seq.*, Bologna, 1859. The bad state of the Pope's health gave the Astrologers a welcome opportunity of foretelling his sicknesses; see a *Despatch of ANTONIO DA PISTOJA of Sept. 6th, 1458, Ambrosian Library.

physical forces at work in the period. He had learned from his own observation and experience the circumstances and the views of both friend and foe, for we may say no party existed in whose camp he had not sojourned for a while. No one could have been better fitted to restore the ancient greatness and glory of the Papacy. His immediate predecessors had indeed done much in this direction since the dissolution of the Council of Basle ; but the crowning of the edifice remained for him.*

The master-thought which filled the mind of Pius II. and governed all his actions during the whole six years of his pontificate, was his noble project of freeing Europe from the disgrace of Turkish domination, by uniting all Christian nations in a general crusade. To repel the advance of the barbarians of the East by the united power of the West, was the great purpose to which, regardless of his bodily weakness, he devoted himself with all the enthusiasm of a young man, and with a marvellous constancy and energy. "As he watched the steady advance of Mahometanism from Africa, through Granada and Spain, and from Asia over the ruins of the Byzantine Empire, and along the banks of the Danube, he became convinced that nothing less than the united forces of the whole of Christendom could suffice to avert the danger." †

On the very day of his election, Pius II. spoke plainly to the Milanese Ambassador, in no uncertain tones, of the great war which must be undertaken by the Christians against the Turks. The next morning he summoned the

* PALACKY IV., 2, 64–5. See JÄGER, I., 307 *seq.*

† PALACKY, *loc. cit.* ; see PII II. Comment. 34. "The deliverance of Constantinople was," says GREGOROVIUS, VII., 163, 3rd ed., "the ideal of his pontificate, and the aim was a high one, and in accordance with the needs of the age." See also GEBHARDT, 29, and JÄGER, I., 317 *seq.*

Sacred College to consider the measures to be adopted.* The restoration of tranquillity in the States of the Church was a matter of the most urgent importance. It was necessary to remove the Catalan governors, and above all to avert the danger threatened by Piccinino. This could only be effected in concert with Naples. The French party was averse to the recognition of Ferrante. Pius II. met their remonstrances with the simple question, "Will King René, the French candidate, free the Church from Piccinino?" † Accordingly, it was determined, on the 20th August, that the Neapolitan Ambassadors should be treated in every way as Royal Ambassadors, and that Ferrante should be styled "his Majesty." ‡ Negotiations were at once entered into with Don Pedro Luis Borgia, who still had possession of Civita Vecchia, Spoleto, and other strongholds.§ It was feared that he would combine with Piccinino in an attack on the defenceless Pope.‖

The anxiety of Pius II. was aggravated by tidings of the constant advance of the Turks which reached him from the East. No wonder that even during the festivities of the succeeding days he appeared preoccupied and almost

* Report of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, August 20. Ambrosian Library.

† Pii II. Comment. 36.

‡ Second Report of Otto de Carretto of the 20th August, 1458, in Appendix N. 2, from the original in the State Archives, Milan. See the Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Sept. 8, Cod. 1588, f. 141, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

§ Despatch of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, August 26. State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen.

‖ Letter of Giov. Fr. de Balneo to his brother, Conte de Modigliana, dated Todi, 1458, August 24. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

melancholy.* On Sunday, the 3rd September, in front of St Peter's, he received the tiara from the hands of Cardinal Colonna, and afterwards solemnly took possession of the Lateran. A tumult among the populace, who prematurely sought to seize the Papal palfrey, disturbed this ceremony, which a fellow-countryman of the Pope's describes as most magnificent.† Pageants of the kind derived a special charm from the fresh impulse which the Renaissance had given to art. The fact that a master like Benozzo Gozzoli painted the flags and banners used on this occasion, may give us some idea of its artistic beauty.‡

The 3rd September also brought Pius II. the satisfaction of seeing an agreement concluded with Don Pedro Borgia, whose death on the 26th delivered the Pope from all further apprehensions on his account.§

The succeeding days were fully occupied by the reception of the Embassies sent to do homage to the Pope, and by anxious deliberations concerning the measures to be taken to resist the Turks, whose progress in Servia became more and more threatening.‖ On the 7th October the Envoys of

* See *Letter of Otto de Carretto of 20th Aug. 1458 (Ambrosian Library) and the Despatch of Nicodemus of Sept. 8, 1458, cited *supra*, p. 20, note ‡. National Library, Paris.

† L. Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 3. State Archives, Siena. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257, is mistaken in giving Sept. 4 as the day of the Coronation. Infessura confounds Coronation and taking Possession (CANCELLIERI, 44 *seq.*). See also GORI, Archivio, IV., 242, and *Acta Consist., f. 28, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See the accounts in *Div. PII II., 1458–60, State Archives, Rome: printed in part by MÜNTZ, I., 330 *seq.*

§ N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257; SANSI, Saggio di Doc. 34, Storia, 51. Regarding the agreement with Don Pedro, see *Despatch of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 3. States Archives, Siena.

‖ Regarding the Florentines' Embassy, see the document from the Archives of their city in GUASTI, 45 *seq.* On the 11th Sept. 1458,

the Republic of Florence arrived. Among them were Cosmo's nephew, Pier Francesco de' Medici and St. Antoninus, the holy Archbishop, who had already congratulated the predecessor of Pius II. on his elevation to the Papacy. The 10th was the day fixed for the reception of the Florentines. When the Consistory was about to assemble, the aged Archbishop, worn out with years and austerities, seemed to be sinking; they gave him a cordial to strengthen him, and then, to the astonishment of all present, he poured forth an eloquent address to the Pope, lasting nearly an hour. Pius II. was greatly touched by the hopes which St. Antoninus expressed of victory over the Turks, and his reply was worthy of the discourse which called it forth. Afterwards, when the Florentines were commending some of their fellow-countrymen to his favour, he asked them, half in jest, why they said nothing for their Archbishop. "The Archbishop," they replied, "needs no recommendation but himself."*

"Triadanus Griti, Mathæus Victuri, Hieronym. Barbadico, and Jacobus Lauredano" were chosen at Venice as Ambassadors to Rome. The last named declined, and his place was taken by V. Capello. *Sen. Secr. XX., 157, State Archives, Venice. With reference to the progress of the Turks, see the *Letter of Petrus Tomasius, dated Buda, 1458, Aug. 25: Dapoi a di 24 in nocte questo Smo. S. Re hebe lettere et messi de Servia et lochi circumstanti come el Bassa Turco per accordo ha havuto el castel de Colombazo, State Archives, Milan, Cart. gen. See letters of the same P. Tomasius in September and October in Mon. Hung., I., 36, and MAKUSCEV, II., 220 *seq.*

* GUASTI, VII., 53 *seq.* See VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI in MAI, I., 240 *seq.*; ST. ANTONINUS, Chronicon III., xxii., c. 17 in princ. et 1; REUMONT, Briefe, 138. The Orator of the Milan Embassy also declared in favour of the war against the Turks; see *Oratio exornatissima praeclarissimi poetae laureati dom Thome de Reate consiliarii ill. d. ducis Mediolani prolata per eum coram S. D. N. Pio papa II. in urbe Roma die quarta Oct. 1458,Cod. Vatic. 5994, f. 59b. *seq.*, Vatican Library. On the 10th Oct. 1458, the Ambassadors from Avignon took

From the reports of the Envoys it appears that the Pope was wholly engrossed by the one idea of war against the Turks.* On the 12th October he made known the decision at which he had arrived, after mature consideration and lengthened deliberations with the Cardinals. The most distinguished members of the Sacred College, many bishops and prelates belonging to the Court, together with all the Ambassadors then in Rome, were assembled on that day in the chapel of the Papal Palace. In an exhaustive speech he enumerated the defeats which the Turks had inflicted upon the Christians, and shewed that they aimed at the annihilation of Christendom. For the protection of religion he had resolved to attack the enemy. As it was impossible to do so without the assistance of the Christian Princes, he purposed to hold a Congress at Mantua or Udine, and would, with the Cardinals, proceed thither in the beginning of June, thus meeting half-way those who were coming from the other side of the Alps. He would then hear the opinions of those whose help he was about to ask. It was painful to him to leave Rome, the seat of St. Peter and the rock of Christendom; but it would give him infinitely more pain if, under his Pontificate, the Faith were to suffer, for which he was ready to risk not only the whole world and the Patrimony of St. Peter, but also his life. Old and infirm as he was, he would not shrink from crossing mountain or river to take counsel with the Christian Princes for the welfare of religion. This determination was commended by the Cardinals, Bishops, Envoys, and all present. †

the oath of fidelity to the Pope; see *Cod. XXXIV., 22, f. 99, Barberini Library, Rome.

* GUASTI, X., 55.

† See CRIBELLUS, 65-70; PII II. Comment. 34. The Florentine and Venetian Envoys were very guarded in their expressions concerning

On the following day Pius II. published a Bull, earnestly inviting all the European Princes to the Congress. Since the Emperor Constantine had given peace to the Church, she had never, he said, been so trampled upon as she now was by the adherents of the "false prophet Mahomet"—the bloodthirsty hosts of the "venomous dragon." It was a punishment from Heaven for the sins of the nations. God had raised him to the See of Rome that he might deliver the world from this peril. The task laid upon him was most difficult, but he did not despair. "The bark of the Church often rocks to and fro, but it does not sink; it is buffeted, but not shattered; it is assailed, but not wrecked; God permits His people to be tried, but He will not suffer them to be overwhelmed."*

Besides this general Bull, special letters of invitation were addressed not merely to the great Powers, but also

the Turkish war; see the report of the Envoy of Florence of the 12th October in GUASTI, 57. Also the *Instruction for the Envoy of Venice of October 30th, 1458, Sen. Secr. XX., f. 164, State Archives, Venice.

* The Bull "Vocavit nos pius," is, as VOIGT, III., 20, remarks, wrongly dated in PII Epist. I., (edit. Mediol.) iii. Cal. Oct. The Milan edition of 1481 is certainly here meant: in that of 1487 (HAIN, 170) the right date is given: iii. Id. Oct. The same day is mentioned in CRIBELLUS, 76, from the MS. in the State Library, Munich, quoted by VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; in Cod. Urb. 404, f. 1–11, and Cod., Ottob. 2506, f. 226–32 of the Vatican Library, Rome; in Cod. Hamilton, 242, II., f. 1 of the Royal Library, Berlin; in Cod. c. II. 9, of the Library of the Escurial; in Cod. 296 of the City Library at Trèves; Addit. MSS. 30935, f. 75 *seq.* of the British Museum; in Cod. 12 (see Vol. II., p. 351) of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, f. 161–6; in the copy in the Secret Archives of Vienna (see CHMEL, II., 362); and in those in the City Archives, Cologne. (ENNEN, III., 303, gives erroneously as the date, iv. Id. Oct., a mistake, as iii. is clearly written in the original, which bears a leaden seal); in the District Archives of Nuremberg and the State Archives, Dresden, Doc. 7587. See also N. DELLA TUCCIA, 257.

to the smaller Princes, States, and Cities. All these letters contained an earnest request that the Envoys should be persons of distinction, and be provided with ample powers.*

Before anything effectual could be attempted against the Turk it was essential that tranquillity should be restored in Italy. Pius II. undertook this difficult task with the greatest zeal. He began with the States of the Church, which, owing to the misrule of the Borgias, were in great disorder. All the Catalan governors were, like Don Pedro Borgia, paid to give up their fortresses. †

The worst legacy left to the new Pope by his predecessor was the difference with Naples. The first steps towards its settlement had been taken before his coronation. Difficulties had subsequently been caused by the interference of various persons. ‡ Then the opposition of the French party in the Sacred College placed further obstacles in the way, and Ferrante himself, looking on many of the Pope's conditions as too hard, was slow in

* The *Letter of October 24, 1458 (see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 18) to the German electors, is in Lib. brev. 9, f. 2, Secret Archives of the Vatican. Pius II.'s *Letter to Cologne (Communitati et adherentibus civitatis Colonien.) is dated Rome, St. Peter's, 1458, Oct. 18 (xv. Cal. Nov.) It says: Requirimus autem, ut eosdem oratores pleno mandato instructos mittere studeatis non ad decernenda solum ea, quorum causa vocamini, sed ad componendam pacem vel ad iudicandas treugas cum illis, cum quibus esset vobis forsan contentio. The original with a leaden seal is in the City Archives, Cologne. A similar *Letter was sent to the City of Nuremberg on the 20th Oct. (xiii. Cal. Nov.) 1458, District Archives, Nuremberg.

† CAMPANUS, 975; PII II. Comment. 36; see the *Report of Antonio da Pistoja, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 8, Ambrosian Library; and a *Letter of "Jac. Chici," to Ludovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 10, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Copy of a letter from Otto de Carretto to Antonio da Trezzo, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 28, Ambrosian Library.

accepting them. Pius II., however, adhered to the demands which he had made in the interests of the Church, and sent word to the King that he was not like a merchant making a bargain, and asking the double to obtain the half.* Ferrante, to whom a declaration of legitimacy from the Holy See was a matter of great importance, was finally compelled to yield. On the 17th October a treaty was concluded in Rome, by which the Pope undertook to remove the censures inflicted by his predecessor, and to grant him the right of succession and investiture in the accustomed form, without prejudice however to the claims of others. A Legate a latere was, as usual, to perform the ceremony of coronation. The Neapolitan King on his part solemnly bound himself to pay yearly to the Holy See a certain tribute, to give up Benevento at once, and Terracina in ten years' time, and also to compel the Condottiere Piccinino to restore the territories which he had taken from the Church.†

On the 10th November the Bull of Investiture was published, together with the oath to be taken by Ferrante. The ecclesiastical and sovereign authority of the Pope was safe-guarded by a repetition of the conditions formerly agreed upon between Charles I. and Clement IV. At the conclusion of the Bull it was expressly laid down that the claims of other persons were not to be prejudiced by it.

* Pii II. Comment. 36. See a second *Letter of Otto de Carretto to Antonio da Trezzo of 28th Aug. 1458, Ambrosian Library.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 20-26 (see BORGIA, Benevento III., 1, 391, and Arch. St. Napol., IX., 79) gives the treaty, from Cod. B. 19, of the Vallicellana Library, Rome (see Vol. II. of this work, p. 67, note ‡). Nicodemus de Pontremoli mentions it to Fr. Sforza in writing from Florence on the 26th October (Register in Cod. 1613 of Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris). HELWING, 16, justly defends the Neapolitan policy of Pius II.

The document was signed by only thirteen Cardinals, those of the French party holding aloof.*

At the same time Pius II. issued another Bull absolving Ferrante from all censures pronounced against him by Calixtus III. and requiring his subjects to render him obedience.†

Cardinal Orsini was on the 1st December charged to receive the oath of fealty and to perform the Coronation,‡ and soon after, Niccolo Forteguerri who had been appointed Bishop of Teano, was sent on a secret mission to Naples. Its object was to treat of a betrothal between the natural daughter of the King and Antonio Piccolomini, the nephew of the Pope, a union by which the newly established good relations between Rome and Naples were to be yet more closely cemented.§ The effects of the

* DUMONT, Suppl. au Corps Dipl., II., p. 412 *seq.* (Paris, 1739); RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 30–49, from the above mentioned MS. of the Vallicellana Library. I saw another copy in Cod. 35—B—16, f. 117b *seq.*, Corsini Library, Rome.

† Bull "Inter caetera" (given in part in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 27, and LUNIG, II., 1259–60) in *Cod. Cors., f. 114 *seq.* (ex liber vicariat. Nicolai V., Calixti III. et Pii II.) but here also undated.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1458, N. 29, and Register, 469, f. 40 *seq.*; Latinus tit. S. Joannis et S. Pauli constituitur legatus de latere in regno Siciliæ citra Pharum pro coronatione regis Ferdinandi. Dat. Romae, 1458, Cal. Dec., Secret Archives of the Vatican. Regarding the Coronation at Baretta, see Notario GIACOMO, 102; BORGIA, Dom Temp. nelle due Sicilie, 196; VOIGT, III., 27; ROCCHI, Codd. Crypt., 318; Arch St. Napol., IX., 90.

§ SIMONETA, 688; Regest. 469, f. 42b; *Pius II. to N. Forteguerri, dated Romae Prid. Non. Dec. A° 1°, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The following words are taken from this document: "pro quibusdam arduis nostris et S.R.E. negotiis te ad regnum etc. destinamus." Ferrante was very loth to part with Benevento, and did not yield up the fortress until May, 1459; see BORGIA, Benevento, III., 1, 393–4; Arch. St. Napol., IX., 88.

alliance were soon visible in the condition of the States of the Church. The menaces of Ferrante, coupled with those of the Duke of Milan, induced Piccinino, early in the year 1459, to yield up his spoils in consideration of an indemnity of 30,000 ducats.* The Pope also used every means in his power to restore order in Rome. He summoned the Barons and made them take an oath to keep the peace during his absence, pronouncing the severest penalties against those who should violate it. The privileges enjoyed by the cities and Princes of the States of the Church were confirmed, and a portion of their tribute remitted for three years.†

The important post of Prefect of the City having become vacant by the death of Don Pedro Luis Borgia, Pius II. conferred it on the 16th December, upon Antonio Colonna,‡ with the right of succession to his eldest son. By this means he attached to his own interest the most powerful of the Roman parties. Antonio Piccolomini had been nominated Governor of St. Angelo on the 1st of September.§

* See the authorities cited by VOIGT, III., 127. Regarding the interference of the Duke of Milan, see the *Brief of Pius II. to Fr. Sforza of the 14th Nov. 1458 (Register in Cod. 1613 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris), and the Brief of Dec. 10, 1458, in Appendix N. 4, Ambrosian Library.

† PII II. Comment. 37; THEINER, Cod. Dipl. III., 401 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 429.

‡ Not the 22nd December, as VOIGT, III., 30, copying the inaccurate INFESSURA (1138), asserts, but on the 16th of the month; see the *Brief of appointment from the Colonna Archives, which is dated Romae, 1458, decimo septimo Cal. Jan.

§ *Antonius . . . de Piccolom. constituitur castellanus "castri Crescentii alias dicti S. Angeli de urbe." Dat. Romae, 1458, Cal. Sept. A° 1°, Register 515, f. 137, Secret Archives of the Vatican. For payments to him, see *Div. PII II., 1458–60, f. 7, 26 etc. State Archives, Rome.

The Romans, however, could not reconcile themselves to the idea of a protracted absence of the Pope from their city, and its consequent loss of the advantages derived from the presence of the Court. The distressful period, during which Eugenius IV. was away from Rome, was still fresh in the memory of many. The intentions of the Pope were mistrusted, and the Congress at Mantua was looked upon as a mere pretext. It was feared that he would linger in Siena, and enrich his own home. Some said that Pius II., who had grown up among the Germans, would ultimately live entirely in their country, and would not deem it beneath his dignity to transfer the Chair of Peter to the other side of the Alps. Others again were full of apprehension lest the aged and sickly Pontiff might never return. Intense excitement prevailed in the city; the women lamented, the youths and men cursed and reviled the Pope, and a number of the old and more influential Romans went to him in a body and besought him not to leave them. Pius II. did his best to reassure them, pointed out the necessity for his departure, and promised soon to return.*

In order the better to tranquillise the public mind, it was decided that a certain number of the Court officials and a few of the Cardinals were to remain in Rome and carry on current business without interruption. A special Bull made provision for the next Papal election, which was to take place only in the Eternal City.† On the 11th

* Pii II. Comment. 34–5; N. della Tuccia, 257. According to the Report of Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza on the 17th Oct. 1458, the Romans murmured at the Pope's decision, but the rest of the world was much pleased with it; Cod. 1588, f. 174, Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris.

† Pii II. Comment. 37. See Theiner, Cod. Dipl., III., 409 *seq.*; Raynaldus, ad an. 1459, N. 1. The Bull is of the 5th January, 1459, not the 4th, as Gregorovius has it, VII., 165, 3rd ed.

January, 1459, Pius II. entrusted the important post of Papal Vicar-General in Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter to his old friend the German Cardinal, Nicholas of Cusa, who had returned there in the end of September.* Galeazzo Cavriani, Bishop of Mantua, was appointed Governor of the City on the 15th January, 1459.†

Platina, Campano, and other authorities, have furnished us with ample materials for forming an idea of the character and mode of life of Pius II.‡ All concur in their estimate of his many-sided culture, his great intellectual powers, his affability, gentleness, and simplicity. Like all really able men, he hated pedantry, and did not care for display, although he could, when it was necessary, maintain the dignity of his position with suitable magnificence.§ The simplicity of his life formed a striking

* Nicolaus tit. S. Petri ad vincula constituitur generalis vicarius cum potestate legati de latere in urbe et patrimonio. Dat. Romae, 1458 (stil. flor.) tertio Id. Jan. A° 1°, Register 515, f. 132–34b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. SCHARPFF, 279, who saw this Bull in the Library at Cues, dates it in 1458, when Calixtus III. was still reigning! Giovanni di Juzzo, in N. DELLA TUCCIA, 73, calls Cusa "lo vice papa." A deed of Cusa of 1st Nov. 1459, is given in VITALE, Senatori di Roma, II., 436 *seq.* (Roma, 1791). Cusa returned to Rome on the 30th Sept. 1458, Acta Consist., f. 28b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† The Deed of Appointment is dated Romae apud S. Petrum, 1458, xviii. Cal. Feb. A° 1°, Reg. 515, f. 139a–140a. Secret Archives of the Vatican. REUMONT is accordingly mistaken, III., 1, 138, in assigning the nomination to October. Regarding the importance of the position of *governatore* in the 15th century, see GARAMPI, Osservaz. sul valore delle antiche monete pontificie, 157. In the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua I saw nineteen *Original Letters of G. Cavriani to the Marquess Lodovico of the year 1459, and seven of the year 1460.

‡ The particulars from Cod. Urb. 1248, in PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 25 *seq.*, which have not been noticed by previous students, are of special importance.

§ MÜNTZ, I., 225 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 549.

contrast to the pomp and show in which d'Estouteville, Borgia, and some of the Cardinals delighted. His retainers were often in despair when, in course of his numerous journeys, the Pope had to stay in poor country villages and decayed convents, where it was difficult to obtain even the barest necessaries of life. On such occasions Pius himself was content with everything; he did not object to use the coarsest and commonest ware, and to sojourn in monasteries which could hardly afford shelter from wind and weather. The provisions served at the Pope's table were of the homeliest kind; there was but little wine, and he seldom ordered any delicacy for himself.

The Papal account-books corroborate the statements of his biographers. A careful student of these volumes has arrived at a result which does honour to the Popes of the early Renaissance period, and to Pius II. in particular. "On the whole," he says, "the simplicity and frugality of the Papal table was amazing. It was like a convent refectory. The household expenses of Pius II. are the lowest recorded. They generally amount to six, seven, or eight ducats a day." The marvellous cheapness of provisions at this period is, of course, to be taken into consideration; but when we remember that this small sum sufficed for the support of from 260 to 280 persons, it must be confessed that declamations against the luxury of the Court are altogether out of place.*

Pius II. had the reputation of being very methodical in the regulation of his time. When in health he rose at daybreak, recited his office, said or heard Mass, and then

* GREGOROVIUS, "Das Römische Staatsarchiv" in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr., Vol. 36, pp. 158–60; MÜNTZ *loc. cit.* For the number of officials see MARINI, II., 152 *seq.* Nevertheless GEBHARDT, La Renaiss., 181, accuses Pius II. of gluttony!

went at once to work. Until the Cardinals arrived, he gave audiences and attended to other business. A short walk in the garden was his only recreation before dinner, after which he conversed with those around him, and took a brief siesta. He then dictated letters, or employed himself in literary work, and again gave audiences until supper-time. Current business was next despatched with Ammanati and Gregorio Lolli, and accounts settled. In addition to these two persons, his nephew, Francesco Piccolomini, Bernardo Eroli, the grave and learned Bishop of Spoleto, Niccolo Forteguerri of Pistoja, and Giacomo di Lucca, enjoyed his special confidence. The Cardinals most intimate with him were Calandrini, Castiglione, Cusa, Carvajal, and Bessarion. Before going to rest Pius II. said the remainder of his office; he often read and dictated in his bed, as he needed but from five to six hours' sleep.*

Platina gives us a description of the outward appearance of the Pope. He was small of stature;† his hair became prematurely grey, which gave him, even in the prime of life, the appearance of age. The expression of his countenance was kindly, but grave. In his dress he avoided both negligence and elegance. He had been accustomed to hardships, and bore hunger and thirst with equanimity. His naturally strong frame had been worn

* See PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 25-6; CAMPANUS, 984; *Despatch of A. da Pistoja of 21st Aug., 1458, see Appendix N. 3; PLATINA, Vita Pii II., see HAGENBACH, 38 *seq.* Regarding the confidants of Pius II., see the *Letter of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza of the 11th Nov. 1458. The "vescovo de Spoleti" is here described as "homo de grande rectitudine ymo austerita, doctissimo in utroque jure et experto del stillo de corte. Con questo la Sta. de N. S. se consiglia molto cosi in le cose di stato come in quelle de corte et quasi niente se fa senza luy." Ambrosian Library.

† See Istoria di Chiusi, 994.

by many journeys, labours, and vigils. Although often suffering from a chronic cough, from stone, and from gout, he was accessible to all, and unwilling to refuse any petition. Campano says that on one occasion, when an attendant endeavoured to make signs to a garrulous old man to curtail his discourse, Pius II. gently told him to go on, but said sharply to the servant: "Do you not know that as Pope I have to live, not for myself, but for others?" He spent all that he received. He had no desire to be rich, and left the reckoning of his money to others, but at the same time he understood its value. In consequence of the war, his coffers were constantly empty, so that he was often oppressed by debt.* He hated liars and hypocrites, was quickly angry, but as quickly pacified. Personal injuries were readily forgiven, but he firmly resisted any attack upon the Holy See. He was kindly and genial in his intercourse with those around him, and witty in conversation. He was indifferent to what was said of him, and to the blame cast on his frequent journeys. Fear and vacillation had no place in his nature; he was never seen to be elated by prosperity nor downcast in adversity. His leisure hours were spent in reading or in literary work. He was sincerely devoted to the Christian Faith, and frequently approached the Sacraments.

* Regarding the very frequent monetary difficulties of Pius II., consequent on his financial mismanagement, see VOIGT, III., 148, 165, 545 *seq.*, and the careful work of GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., where the balance-sheets of the Papal Treasury are given. Yet he sometimes objected to financial irregularities. For example, he wrote to Bologna: Intelleximus non sine displicentia thesauraria illius nostre civitatis Bononie non administrari cum eo quo decet ordine multaque in ea negligi et male conduci in non parvum praeiudicium camere apostolice; "this is to be amended." Dated, Tibure, 1461, Aug. 3. Original in the State Archives, Bologna.

A few more touches may still be added to this picture which is drawn by a grateful hand.* The strictness with which Pius II. kept the laws of the Church appears from the fact that his friends endeavoured in vain to hinder him from fasting, when suffering from illness. The Pope had a great veneration for the Blessed Virgin. He looked upon her as, in a special manner, his Protectress; he made frequent pilgrimages to her shrines, and enriched them with many gifts. He also composed some hymns in her honour.†

The great love of travelling, which Platina mentions as a characteristic of Pius II., deserves further notice. Few of the Popes have seen as much of the world, although some may have taken longer journeys. The epithet of

* It cannot be denied that Platina's description of Pius II. is intended to make his successor's character appear yet darker by contrast; yet other authorities agree in this really valuable account. See CREIGHTON, II., 524. The opinion of GREGOROVIUS, who is certainly impartial, is as favourable as that of Platina; the life of Pius II. "as Pope," he says (VII., 163, 3rd ed.), "was blameless; he was temperate, mild, benevolent and indulgent."

† PII II. Comment. 131, 360; PELLEGRETTI, 39, 54 *seq.*, 64. The ancient privileges of the Shrine of Einsiedeln were confirmed, and new favours granted by Pius II.; see G. MOREL, Regesten v. Einsiedeln, 70–1 (Chur, 1848), where, however, Nos. 905 and 906 are inserted under 1463 instead of 1464. No. 906 is, in Cod. 814, f. 404 of the Cathedral Library at St. Gall, correctly dated Cal. Febr., instead of iii. Cal. Feb., as Morel has it. An elegy on the Blessed Virgin by PIUS II. is published in his works, p. 964 (Basle edition). LAMIUS, Catal. Bibl. Riccard., 8 (Liburni, 1756) gives the beginning of another hymn 'Ad beatam virginem" by this Pope, and I believe that one which commences with the words :—

Virgo decus celi, virgo sanctissima, virgo
Que super angelicos es veneranda choros.

Cod. 710, f. 71b–73, Riccardian Library, Florence, has not yet been published.

"Apostolic Wanderer," which the prophecy of Malachy bestows upon Pius VI., was equally applicable to him. Considerations of policy and health,* an insatiable thirst for knowledge, a delight in unrestrained social intercourse, and finally, an enthusiastic admiration of the beautiful scenery of his country, furnished the motives for an amount of travelling unusual in his days. A visit to the country was the chief solace which he allowed himself when pestilence and excessive heat made the low-lying districts insupportable. The summer sojourn of the Pope on Monte Amiata, of which we have a description from his own pen, has often been mentioned. During the hot season of the year 1462, he took up his abode in the Abbey of San Salvatore, which is situated half-way up the mountain. "Splendid chestnut trees clothe the edge of the precipice, which commands a view of the whole of southern Tuscany with the towers of Siena in the distance." An inscription still reminds the traveller that under one of the finest of these trees the affairs of both Church and State were despatched by the Pope. He never allowed his love of travelling to interfere with business. He made a point of discharging the duties of his office both personally and promptly. "Often and often did he hold Consistories and sign state papers, and give audiences to Ambassadors beneath the giant old chestnuts or in the shade of olive trees, on the green sward, by murmuring waters."†

* "It was not," REUMONT, III., 1, 392, observes, "really by way of recreation that he repeatedly sojourned at the Baths of Macerato and Petriolo." The disturbed state of the capital must also be taken into account. "It was not without reason that Pius preferred any place of residence to Rome." BURCKHARDT, Cultur., I., 100, 3rd ed.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur., II., 21, 3rd ed. In his description of Monte Amiata, Pius II. speaks of himself as "silvarum amator et varia

The beautiful descriptions of his travels left by Pius II. are justly esteemed, and even at the present day excite the admiration of those who can appreciate the charm of Italian scenery. "Diana's hiding place" on the blue lake of Nemi, Todi, enthroned amid vineyards and olive-covered slopes, Subiaco in its wild solitude, the view from the summit of the Alban hills over "the wide Campagna studded with the ruins of a primitive civilisation, the mountain heights of Central Italy, with woods and valleys and shining lakes at their feet," had never before been portrayed with such enthusiasm and in such detail. "All things that give charm to a landscape, corn-fields, and meadows, high mountains and low-lying lakes, the rushing brook, the murmuring river overhung with dusky foliage, the contrasted hues of the blue waving flax and the yellow broom, the distant prospect over land and sea, city, mountain and valley," were all observed by the delighted eye of the Pope, and recorded by his pen.*

Nor was his interest less in the memorials of antiquity and the treasures of art which he met with in his travels; no relic of the Christian or heathen past escaped him. In the convents he had all the old manuscripts brought to him; at Chiusi he sought for the Labyrinth mentioned by Pliny; at Mincio he visited Virgil's Villa, and in the neighbourhood of Rome he traced out the old Roman roads and aqueducts, and endeavoured to determine the boundaries of the ancient tribes. In Hadrian's villa at Tivoli he tried "to interpret the fragments of walls, and in imagination to restore their former connection."

videndi cupidus." Comment. 217; see also CAMPANUS, 982–3. With regard to the Pope's speedy despatch of business, see PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 26.

* BIESE, Die Naturanschauung des Hellenismus und der Renaissance, in the Preuss. Jahrb., LVII., 552. BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*

"Time," he writes in his Memoirs, "has here defaced everything. The walls, which were once adorned by coloured tapestry and gold-embroidered hangings, are now clothed with wild ivy. Thorns and briars are growing where the Tribunes once sat in purple, and snakes are dwelling in the chambers of queens. Such is the transitory nature of all earthly things." *

The constant pecuniary difficulties of Pius II. in some measure account for the remarkable fact that very little was done for the Humanists during his reign. His election had awakened great expectations among them, and their disappointment was all the keener. Moreover, the Pope, who was himself a distinguished author, proved a very fastidious critic. Orators and poets, he used to say, must be really original, else they are worthless.† During the early years of his Pontificate, death removed several

* Pii II. Comment. 138; VOIGT, II., 310 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, I. 227 *seq.*, 3rd ed.

† CAMPANUS, 986; VOIGT, III., 608 *seq.* The number of poets who sang the praises of Pius II. was, as VAHLEN (378) observes, much greater than Voigt's description would lead us to suppose. Regarding the Roman poet, Niccolo Valle, who repeatedly strove for the favour of Pius II., GREGOROVIUS, VII., 598, 3rd ed., may be compared with VAHLEN (376). I found a printed copy, which has apparently escaped the notice of Vahlen, of a poem, "Constantinopolis Rome sue salutem edita a Nicolao de Valle" in the University Library at Innsbruck, II., 11 E. 1580, 14. Cod. Db. 75 of the Dresden Library contains "Hesiodi opera et dies interprete Nicolao Valle carmine heroico"; at its conclusion is a notice from a more modern hand to the effect that a translation of the "Opera et dies Nicolai de Valle" is to be found printed in the Appendix of the Silius Italicus published in Rome in 1471. The Library of Dresden possesses a copy of this rare edition, and in it the translation is preceded by a dedication to Pius II. There is a collection of the poems in his honour in Cod. I., VII., 260 of the Chigi Library, Rome, and among them is also one of a complimentary character, addressed to the worthy Battista Pallavicini; see *infra*, Book II., Chapter 1.

prominent Humanists; Vegio died in 1458, Manetti, Poggio and Aurispa in 1459; and some of their successors were of little note. Versifiers of the calibre of Giantonio Porcello evidently could have little interest for a man of Pius II.'s intellect. Filelfo ruined his fortunes by his "shameless importunity."* The value to be attached to the complaints of other Humanists is uncertain. Until the manuscripts bearing on the subject have been thoroughly examined it will not be possible to come to a definite conclusion in regard to the relations of Pius II. with the literary men of his day. The following may serve as an instance of the caution required. One who is thoroughly versed in the literary affairs of the period asserts that "the translators of Nicholas V.'s time were a jealous and quarrelsome set, and were entirely unnoticed by Pius II." In contradiction to this statement we have the fact that Francesco d'Arezzo, a disciple of Valle's was expressly charged by the Pope to complete his master's translation of the Iliad, and to undertake a translation of the Odyssey as a companion volume. In return for his labours he received a permanent appointment, which "not only sufficed for his own necessities, but also enabled him to

* VOIGT, III., 629 *seq.* Regarding Porcello, see VOIGT'S Wiederbelebung, I., 494 *seq.*, 589–91, 2nd ed., where there is evidence that this writer shared the impure tastes of Beccadelli. *Cod. Vat. 1670, contains: Ad divum Pium II. Pont. Max. Porcelii Pandoni poetae laur. epigrammata poemataque soluta, fol. 2: de felicitate temporum divi Pii II. P. M. liber primus; f. 14b *seq.* on the Congress at Mantua; f. 23 *seq.*: poema de podagra et eius crucibus ad divum Pium II. P. M., Por. poeta dolorum impatientissimus. Lege bona cum valetudine, f. 28b: Porcelius poeta ad Romanos ut Pium P. M. Tybure redeuntem maximo honore complectantur; f. 75b concerning the artistic undertakings of the Pope; some passages are given by MÜNTZ, I., 229-30, from the same MS. of the Vatican Library. In relation to Porcello's Feltria in Cod. Urb. 373, see SCHMARSOW, 75 *seq.*

carry out his long-cherished wish of providing for his mother and sister." Several Humanists were, during this Pontificate, employed in the College of Abbreviators; amongst others we may mention Bartolomeo Platina, Leodrisio Crivelli, and Battista Poggio.*

While it is true that the scholarly Pope did not neglect the Humanists to the degree that his latest biographer has supposed, it cannot be denied that a certain reserve is evident in his conduct towards them. This fact has been accounted for by his pecuniary necessities, by his engrossing ecclesiastical and political cares, and by his zeal for the Crusade. We may add another motive, which is to be found in the Pope's aversion for the false Renaissance. Pius II. was but too well-acquainted with this dangerous aspect of the movement which he had once favoured, and, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, resolutely opposed it. Here, too, it may be said that Æneas was now forgotten and Pius alone remained. Christian works formed the principal part of his private library, and heathen authors were little regarded.† In his own writings he scrupulously avoided everything which could be looked upon as an approach to heathenism. If the ancient gods were mentioned they were spoken of as demons or idols; "the ideas and opinions of Roman philosophers were corrected and conformed to the Christian standard. Scepticism and criticism were

* VAHLEN, 387 *seq.*, 393 *seq.*, 376, 410. VOIGT, III., 617 *seq.*, is mistaken in supposing the relations between Pius II. and Agostino Dati to have been unfriendly, and in suggesting politics as the cause. In the Archives of Siena I saw *Letters from Dati, and especially one of April 14, 1462, addressed to Siena, in which he manifests the most sincere reverence for "Papa Pio Senese."

† MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatic., 122. In regard to the fate of the MSS., see DE ROSSI, Bibl. Vatic., 365, note.

silenced in presence of the authority of the Church."* Authors whose lives were immoral, as for example A. Contrarius, were relentlessly banished.† The representatives of the Christian Renaissance, on the other hand, such as Flavio Biondo, enjoyed the special favour of Pius II. Biondo accompanied the Pope on his excursions in the beautiful neighbourhood of Rome and recalled the various historical associations of the landscape. He also took part in the Congress of Mantua, and, while in that city, completed his "Roma Triumphans." This work, "the first great attempt at a general picture of Roman antiquity," was dedicated to Pius II.‡ The high esteem in which the Pope held this good man may be gathered from the fact that he made an abstract of Biondo's great historical work, the first twenty books of the "Decades," and also made his son Gasparo notary to the Papal Treasury. In the spring of 1463, when Biondo became very ill, the Pope sent his own Confessor to visit him, and he afterwards provided for his burial.§ Gasparo at once succeeded him as secretary.‖

Pius II. also endeavoured to attract to Rome some scholars from other countries, as for example the celebrated astronomer, Battista Piasio, and the learned German theologian, Gabriel Biel; the latter, a simple and modest man,

* VOIGT, III., 579, 640; also I., 13, and II., 280.

† AGOSTINI, II., 431; APPONYI-ABEL, Isotæ Nog., Op. I., cxxviii.

‡ MASIUS, Fl. Biondo, 27 (Leipzig, 1879, Dissert.); BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 228, 3rd ed.; GASPARY, 131.

§ Cronica di Forli, by GIOVANNI DE PEDRINO in Cod. 234, f. 280 of the Library of Prince Boncompagni at Rome. Here the 4th June is also given as the day of his death.

‖ See WILMANNS in the Gött. gel. Anz., 1879, p. 1500 *seq.*, where the reproaches of Filelfo regarding Pius II.'s neglect of Biondo are shewn to be utterly unfounded.

declined the invitation. Niccolo Sagundino of Negroponte went to Rome and died there in 1463.*

Two Sienese, Agostino and Francesco de' Patrizzi; the Roman, Agapito di Cenci de' Rustici; Jacopo Ammanati; and the witty and genial Giantonio Campano, shared with Biondo the special favour of the Pope. Campano, "a master of style," was the Court Poet of Pius II., who thought so highly of his productions that he inserted a number of them in his Memoirs. These Memoirs were the constant occupation of his leisure hours; many portions are apparently written by his own hand, and others were dictated. He saw, with regret, that time would not permit him to give his work the finishing touches he might have desired. Yet the original manuscript contains numerous literary corrections.‡ Pius II. also purposed to reform the style of the Papal Bulls, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt, as he found that the changes made gave rise to suspicions of their authenticity.§ He used himself to compose Briefs and Bulls of importance. "Though sentences and images from Holy Scriptures took the place of quotations from Horace and Virgil in the Pope's discourses, their elegant and flowing style proved to the world that he was both a scholar and a man of modern culture." ‖

* RENAZZI, 170; Tüb. Quartalschrift, 1865, p. 204; REUMONT, III., 1, 337.

† VOIGT, III., 620 *seq.*

‡ See Appendix N. 65.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, I., 223.

‖ VOIGT, II., 283. For some account of Pius' relation to the Roman University, see RENAZZI, 170 *seq.*, and PAPENCORDT, 515. His love of learning was evinced by the foundation of the Universities of Ingolstadt (PRANTL, I., 13 *seq.*); of Basle (HAGENBACH, 49–51; VISCHER, Gesch. der Univ. von Basel, 26 *seq.*); and of Nantes (BULAEUS, V., 661; Bull. V., 153–6), as well as by the encouragement given to the High

It is really wonderful that, notwithstanding his constant sufferings and the immense burden of affairs which pressed upon him, the Pope found time for serious literary work. During the first years of his Pontificate, in hours stolen from sleep, he laboured to carry out his magnificent project of writing "A geographical and ethnographical description of the whole of the known world with historical illustrations." Asia, the first part, which Pius had begun when a Cardinal, and which had occupied him during his summer sojourn at Tivoli in 1461, alone was completed. In the unfinished section on Europe the history of recent events fills a considerable place. Germany is treated in detail, and many errors which prevailed in Italy regarding that country are corrected. A far from indulgent critic praises the elevation of thought displayed in this acute and learned work, and declares that a book which exercised such a powerful influence on Christopher Columbus must not be lightly esteemed.*

Nor is less importance to be attached to the Memoirs of Pius II., to which allusion has frequently been made in these pages. In the spirit of a genuine historian Piccolomini had, throughout the whole of his eventful life, made notes of all that had befallen him, and all that he had seen, and also of what he had heard and learned from others. As Pope he still kept up the custom, and this was the origin of his Autobiography, the most comprehensive and characteristic of his writings. This work

Schools already in existence; see HAUTZ, I., 308–9; DENIFLE, I., 452; BELLESHEIM, I., 296.

* VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, II., 515, 2nd ed.; GASPARY, 133; HUMBOLDT, Kosmos, II., 291 (Stuttgart, 1847). BURCKHARDT, I., 5–6, 3rd ed.; see also PESCHEL, Gesch. der Erdkunde, 217 (München, 1877), and GENGLER, Æneas Silvius' Bedeutung f. d. Rechtsgesch. (Erlangen, 1860).

is, at once, a history of the remarkable period during which he occupied the Papal chair, and a portrait of it as reflected in his mind. He was generally so overwhelmed with business that it was but seldom that he could devote two consecutive hours to his task, and, if he did, they were mostly borrowed from his sleepless nights. "Accordingly, the Memoirs are composed of a multitude of fragments of different length, whose connection is but slight, and, in many cases, merely arbitrary. The first book, his life previous to his elevation to the Papacy, is the only one which is more than a rough draft. He often made his secretaries write down the events of the few preceding days, both personal and political, adding historical or geographical matter culled from the treasures of his memory, or from his collections of extracts. Here and there unconnected episodes are introduced." The narrative proceeds from day to day like a journal, "and only ceases with the commencement of his last illness."* Pius II. was well aware of the defects necessarily incidental

* VOIGT, II., 336 *seq.*; CUGNONI, 15 and 180; CHRISTOPHE, II., 107 *seq.* Regarding Cod. Regin. 1995 of the Vatican Library, in which I believe I have discovered the Original MS. of the Pope's Memoirs, see Appendix N. 65. Notwithstanding the evidence furnished by Voigt to show that the Bonn Priest, JOHANNES GOBELINUS, from Lintz on the Rhine, whose name appears on the title-page of the printed editions (Rome, 1584 and 1589 ; Frankfort, 1614) as author or editor, was merely its transcriber, this error still holds its ground. HEGEL, Städtechroniken, XVIII., 1, 92, for example, speaks of the "ecclesiastical historian, Gobelinus," as author of the Comment. PII II. HARTZHEIM, Bibl. Colon., 174, brings forward nothing new concerning Gobelinus. The Parish Archives of St. Martin at Bonn are equally barren, for the more ancient protocols of the Cassius foundation only date from 1568. From information kindly imparted by Vicar Hurth, I find that a Gobelinus was parish priest in Waldorf, two hours' journey from Bonn, on the 23rd Jan., 1580.

to a work composed in this manner, and Campano was entrusted with the duty of removing them. It was well for posterity that the Court Poet did not expend much labour on the task.

Delicate and sympathetic observation of men and things, sound judgment, a youthful freshness of perception and description, are merits universally conceded to this remarkable work. If it is not exempt from the faults which characterise the historical writings of the time, and of Memoirs in general,* it still remains a highly valuable authority. The narrative in its details may often fail in accuracy and impartiality; but from this, as from everything written by this gifted man, we carry away a "vivid and personal impression, which has a value of its own quite as real as that of historical documents."† The unprejudiced reader of the geographical and historical works produced by Pius II. during the period of his Pontificate will not fail to agree with the verdict of a non-Catholic writer, who declares that they furnish ample testimony of the genuine love of art and learning, and the noble aspirations by which he was animated.‡

* There is no doubt that, as GASPARY remarks, 133-4, Pius II. drew his own portrait in a favourable light, and that his digressions manifest something of the garrulity of age; see *ibid.*, 665, for a striking example of the manner in which Voigt misjudges and underrates this Pope. Gaspary also points out the great political sagacity displayed in the Commentaries.

† VOIGT, II., 317; REUMONT, III., 1, 335 *seq.*; MONOD in the Rev. Hist., I., 8–9; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 584 *seq.*, 3rd ed.; CIPOLLA, 489 *seq.*; J. B. CHRISTOPHE, Pie II. Écrivain (Lyon, 1865).

‡ HAGENBACH, 41.

CHAPTER II.

The Eastern Question and the Congress at Mantua. 1459–60.

The beginning of February 1459 had been fixed as the date of the Pope's departure from Rome, but the tidings of the victorious advance of the Turks into Servia induced him, notwithstanding his weak state of health, to resolve on setting out on his journey in January.* The Venetians, afraid of disturbing their commercial relations with the Porte, refused to let the Congress be held at Udine, and Mantua was finally selected as its place of meeting.†

* Cedule affixe pro recessu S.D.N. pape: "Nos Georgius episc. Lausan Carlis. Aquilej. locumtenens tenore presentium intimamus, insinuamus et notificamus, quod idem S.D.N. infra quintum decimum diem post festum Epiphanie Domini proxime futurum intendit iter arripere ad civitatem Mantuanam." Dat. Romae, 1458, Dec. 6, Pii II., Div. Cam. 1458–60; Arm. XXIX., T. 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Nicodemus, writing to Fr. Sforza from Florence under date 1548, Oct. 17, mentions Pius II.'s intention of setting out in February. Fonds Ital., 1588, f. 174, National Library, Paris.

† Pii II. Comment. 42. The letter of the Marchioness Barbara, given by Hofmann, Barbara, 35–7, bears witness to the great efforts which had been made in Mantua to ensure the assembling of the Congress in that city. Janner, III., 519, speaks of the disappointed hopes of the Town Council of Ratisbon. G. Cavriani wrote from Rome to the Marquess Lodovico on the 16th Jan. 1459: *"Questi di gionse qui Bartol. Bonatto cum li capituli chi se haveano a concludere per el transferire li de la corte li quali questa mattina sono conclusi et ratificati. The Pope is better; he is full of the greatest zeal

With the object of protecting the Christians in the Greek waters against the rapidly increasing naval power of the Turks, the Pope, shortly before his departure, instituted a new religious Order of Knights. This Order was framed on the model of that of St. John at Rhodes. It was to bear the name of Our Lady of Bethlehem, and to have its headquarters in the Island of Lemnos.*

On the 20th January, 1459, Pius II. left the Vatican for Sta. Maria Maggiore, where he spent the following day, and gave his blessing to the sorrowing people. An attempt was again made to dissuade him from his journey on the ground of his state of health and of the inclement season of the year. When these arguments proved unavailing, the dangers which threatened the States of

for the Turkish expedition." See *Letter of the same Cavriani of the 22nd January, 1459, and one from B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1459, Jan. 16th. Both of these are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Bull "Veram semper et solidam" dated Romae, 1458 (st. fl.) quartodec. Cal. Febr. A° 1°, Register 470, f. 4–6b of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Given in part, and with a wrong date, by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 2–4, and LEIBNIZ, Cod. I., 418–9. It is not known whether this Order ever actually came into existence; see ZINKEISEN, II., 237–8; VOIGT, III., 652. The latter also mentions the scheme for transferring the Teutonic Order from Prussia to the Turkish frontier. Another Order, the *Societas Jesu Christi*, was founded with the object of fighting the Turks. Pius II. confirmed it at the request of Bessarion, but it did not attain any great importance, its principal promoter having turned traitor. See CASTAN in the Rev. des Sociétés Savantes, 1876, p. 479 *seq.*, and LE FORT, Une Société de Jésus au quinzième siècle. Documents inédits des Archives de Genève in Mém. et Documents, publ. par la Société d'Hist. de Genève, XX., 98–118. A *Bull of Pius II., Register 469, f. 386: "Societati domini Jesu nuncup. conceditur licentia eundi contra Turchos per unum annum et datur eis indulgentia," dated Romae, 1458 (st. fl.), Id. Jan. A° 1°, Secret Archives of the Vatican, has not come to the knowledge of either of these students.

the Church were laid before him. As soon as he was known to have crossed the Po, the tyrants would, it was predicted, rush like ravening wolves upon the patrimony of St. Peter, and on his return, he would not know where to lay his head. But the Pope replied that Mahomet was menacing his spiritual authority, and that its recovery would be a matter of far greater difficulty than that of the States of the Church, which had already been often lost and as often regained.*

On the 22nd January Pius II. accordingly took leave of Rome.† Among those who accompanied him were Cardinals Calandrini, Alain, d'Estouteville, Borgia, Barbo, and Colonna, with a number of courtiers and Envoys.‡ They passed out of the city by the Ponte Molle, and travelled as far as Campagnano, where the Orsini, to whom this place belonged, had prepared a splendid reception.§ The next day, on the way to Nepi and Civita Castellana, the Pope was met by the joyful tidings of

* Pii II. Comment. 39.

† N. Della Tuccia, 257, compare 73, N. 2 ; Infessura, 1138, Cron. Rom. 26 ; Cronica di Bologna, 727. Hergenröther, VIII., 102, is mistaken in giving the 22nd January as the day of the Pope's departure from the Vatican. In several Briefs of the 20th January, Pius II. speaks of leaving Rome on that day for Mantua ; amongst others, in that to Albert of Brandenburg in Würdtwein, Nov. Subs. XIII., 61–2, and in *one to Cologne, dated Rome, St. Peter's, 1458, tertiodecimo Cal. Febr. A° 1°, in which he again urges on the preparations for the Congress. Cologne City Archives. The Brief arrived : 1459, die mercurii p. f. pasche. A similar *Brief of the same date addressed to the city of Nuremburg, is preserved in the Kreisarchiv, and another to Duke Frederick of Saxony, is in the State Archives at Dresden. Orig. Doc. N. 7600.

‡ Ghirardacci, Storia di Bologna, III., f. 328, Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna, is wrong in giving eight, and Sismondi, X., 120, in giving ten, as the number of the Cardinals.

§ Pii II. Comment. 39. N. Della Tuccia, 257.

Piccinino's submission. At Civita Castellana, picturesquely planted on a rock of tufa, he enjoyed the satisfaction of meeting in its Bishop his old friend, Nicholas Palmerius. At Magliano he crossed the Tiber by a wooden bridge, which was richly decorated. Everywhere laity and clergy vied with each other in manifesting their respect for the Vicar of Christ. Youths and maidens crowned with laurel, and bearing olive branches in their hands, wished long life and happiness to their noble guest. The streets and roads were strewn with green boughs, and filled with crowds who deemed it a happiness even to touch the hem of the Pope's garment.* Thus Pius II. passed through Narni and Terni to Spoleto, where he remained two days.†

Even on this journey the indefatigable Pope allowed himself no rest. From Terni he wrote to Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, to the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, and to Duke Frederick of Saxony about the Congress.‡ During the following days, while at Spoleto, he addressed similar letters to Cardinal Carvajal, to the Emperor's Council, to the Emperor himself, to the Bishops of Eichstädt, Würzburg and Bamberg, and to the cities of Strasburg, Basle and Constance.§

* Pii II. Comment. 41. The tumult in Narni is not mentioned here, see CAMPANUS, 975.

† See the Vatican Itinerary in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 5 and again in the Mittheil. des Œsterreich. Inst., 83 (1885).

‡ CHMEL, Urkunden u. Briefe, 180–1. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 6. The *Brief to Frederick of Saxony is in the State Archives, Dresden, N. 7601.

§ RAYNALDUS *loc. cit.* *Lib. brev. 9, f. 5 and 6b to Carvajal (dated Spoleto, 26th Jan. 1459); f. 8 to the Emperor's Council (dated Spol. 27 Jan., Hortamur devotionem tuam in domino et instanter requirimus, ut commemoratione continua Serenitati Sue velis ostendere quid honor proprius et debitum dignitatis sue requirat); f. 6b to the

In the monastic city of Assisi, the Pope was received with special rejoicing. He visited the walls and fortifications which Nicholas V. had restored, and desired that they should be strengthened. He also received the oath of fealty of the citizens.* Even greater honours awaited him in Perugia, where no Pope had been seen for eighty years. All the houses and churches of the city were splendidly decorated; the keys of its gates were presented to the Pontiff, who immediately returned them to the magistrates. The joy of the people was deep and heartfelt. The Chronicle of Perugia describes his solemn entry on the 1st February, when, in Pontifical vestments and wearing the mitre, he was borne through a delighted throng, in a litter adorned with purple and gold. In the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, where three of his predecessors repose, he adored the Blessed Sacrament, and thence proceeded to the Governor's Palace. During the succeeding days the inhabitants paid the Pope every possible honour. He remained for three weeks in the city, and consecrated the Church of San Domenico. He did his best to reconcile its contending factions, issued fresh invitations to the Congress,† and received the Envoys of

Emperor (dated Spol. 26th Jan., see Appendix N. 5); f. 7 to the above-named Bishops and Cities, dated Spoleti ex itinere 26 Jan.; they were to send to Mantua Ambassadors furnished with complete powers. Secret Archives of the Vatican. For the time spent at Spoleto, see SANSI, Storia, 51.

* PII II. Comment. 42. CRISTOFANI, 318–19.

† *Lib. brev. 9, f. 13: to Rudolf von Rudesheim, dated Perusii, 17th Feb. (he was to admonish the Archbishop of Mayence, over whom he had great influence, to send Ambassadors to the Congress); f. 13b "Joh. Lesura canon. Spiren., decret. doct. d. ut s." (Devotionem tuam hortamur in domino et requirimus ut omni impedimento seposito in dieta prefata interesse des operam. Tua enim presencia consolacioni nobis erit.) Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Duke of Savoy and of Federigo, Count of Urbino.* A mission also arrived from Siena to endeavour to compose the differences which made it doubtful whether the Pope would visit his birth-place.†

Even while Bishop of Siena, Pius II. had had to contend against the distrust of his fellow-countrymen. "He was looked upon as a partisan of the nobles who had been driven out of the Government, and since his elevation to the purple he had never entered the city."‡ After his election to the Papacy, the dignities and offices of State had been again opened to the Piccolomini family. This, however, was far from satisfying Pius II., who required that the nobles in general should be eligible to all posts. An autograph Brief of energetic remonstrance, addressed to his fellow-countrymen on the 25th November, 1458, had removed all possible doubts as to his views.§ An

* Regarding the reception of the Pope and his sojourn in Perugia (1–19th Febr.) see GRAZIANI, 632–5; MARIOTTI, II., 534 *seq.*; PII II. Comment. 42–3; PELLINI, 650; BONAZZI, 675 *seq.* Giacomo Chigi in a *Report to the Marquess L. Gonzaga, dated Siena 1459, Febr. 24 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) speaks of the joy of the Perugians. In reference to the solemn reception of the Count of Urbino we have a *Despatch from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Perugia, 1459, Feb. 12, which is unfortunately half-destroyed. (Giunse qui sabato sera che fu, a di X. de questo lo m^co. Conte d'Urbino al qual la Sta. de Nro. S. et li R^mi. Carli. mandarono le loro famiglie et cosi ce anday io et molti prelati.) The other *Despatches of this Envoy of the 6th, 7th, and 14th February, preserved in the State Archives at Milan, are written in cipher which cannot be made out. The *Bull, dated 1459, March 4, by which Pius II. took Federigo de Montefeltro and his heirs under his protection, is in the State Archives at Florence (Pergam. d'Urbino, Eccl. N. 70).

† *Despatch of the three Sienese Envoys, dated Perugia, 1459, Febr. 12, in the State Archives, Siena.

‡ VOIGT, III., 32.

§ The postscript added by the hand of Pius II. to the Brief of the

Embassy sent to Rome in December was informed that the Pope would not inflict any punishment upon the Sienese for their contumacy, but that if his demands were not complied with, he would withhold the favours which he had intended to confer upon the city.* He also allowed it to be understood that he would not pass through Siena on his journey. The popular party yielded to this pressure in so far as somewhat to modify their resolutions against the nobles. A special Mission was despatched to Perugia to acquaint the Pope with this decision, and to urge him to visit Siena. Pius II. graciously accepted the invitation and the concession, at the same time expressing a hope that more would follow. He refused to agree to the demand of the Envoys that no further mention should be made of the questions at issue.†

On the 19th of February, amidst the regrets of its citizens, the Pope left Perugia. On the frontier of the Sienese territory a solemn deputation awaited his arrival. The people everywhere received him "with heartfelt joy." His journey lay through Chiusi and Sarteano to Corsignano, the home which he had left as a penniless lad, and now revisited as the Head of Christendom. "There upon the hill, and above the vineyards, stood the lowly houses in which the Piccolomini had dwelt, and there was the old parish church." The Pope's joy in again beholding the home of his youth was deep and tender; but many of his contemporaries were dead, and those who survived were confined to their houses by age

25th November, 1458, preserved in the State Archives of Siena, is printed in PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 11.

* Report of the Envoys in BANCHI, Istruz. e relaz., 67.

† VOIGT, III., 33 *seq.*; THOMASIUS, 57 *seq.*; MALAVOLTI, 61; BANCHI, *loc. cit.*, 76–7; CUGNONI, 53.

and sickness, or so altered that he could with difficulty recognise them. It was on this occasion that an aged priest came and cast himself at the Pope's feet—the Father Peter, who had taught the now learned and famous author to read and write. Pius II. spent three days in the little town, all too short a time for its inhabitants, who could never have enough of gazing at their renowned fellow-citizen. "On the feast of St. Peter's Chair (22nd February), he celebrated the High Mass in the lowly parish church."*

Before his departure, Pius II. made the necessary arrangements for the erection of a Cathedral and of a Palace; for Corsignano, under the name of Pienza, was now to become the See of a Bishop.†

On the 24th February the Pope entered Siena, where his arrival was awaited by the dominant party with feelings of anxious suspense. His reception, although not wanting in suitable magnificence, was cold. Attentive observers were struck by the contrast which it formed with the enthusiastic welcome of Perugia.‡ Pius II. nevertheless manifested "nothing but goodwill and kindness." The Golden Rose was bestowed on the Prior of the Balia, with a speech from the Pope in praise of the city.§

The lengthened sojourn of Pius II. brought unwonted animation to the quiet streets of Siena, and the price of

* VOIGT, III., 35 ; see I., 7.

† PII II. Comment. 44.

‡ See the interesting *Report of Giacomo Chigi to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Siena, 1459, February 24th (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), where the solemnities attending the Pope's reception are also described.

§ MANSI, Orat. II., 1–4 ; ALLEGRETTO, 770 ; VOIGT, III., 35–6. Regarding the Golden Rose, see CARTARI, 86, and FALUSCHI, 115.

provisions at once rose considerably.* The Kings of Castille, Aragon, Portugal, Hungary, and Bohemia, Dukes Philip of Burgundy and Albert of Austria, and the Margraves Albert and Frederick of Brandenburg, all sent their representatives thither to do homage. The Pope answered all the addresses with his wonted eloquence. The Emperor, to whom he had written from Spoleto, and again on the 28th February from Siena, urgently pressing him to come to Mantua,† sent men of comparatively inferior rank. They shewed their annoyance with the Pope for having addressed Matthias Corvinus as King of Hungary, by putting off for a while their arrival at Siena. But Pius II. appealed to the example of his predecessor and to the custom of the Holy See, by which the title of King is given to the actual possessor of the kingdom without prejudice to the rights of others. The Humanist Hinderbach made the profession of obedience on behalf of the Imperial Embassy, to which the Pope graciously replied.‡

Not till towards the end of his stay in Siena did the

* The key to the cipher used in the *Letter of Otto de Carretto from Siena of the 25th March is unfortunately wanting.

† *Brief of 28th February 1459, in Appendix N. 7, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ VOIGT, III., 37–40. Regarding the Bohemian Embassy see *infra*, chapter 5. The discourse of HINDERBACH is in Cod. 3786, f. 168-73, State Library, Munich. (For a further account of him, see ZINGERLE, Beitr. zur Gesch. der Phil., I., 54 *seq.* I may here observe that the Episcopal Archives at Trent contain nothing else by Hinderbach; everything has been transferred to the Government Archives at Innsbruck.) In reference to the proceedings towards Hungary, see HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, p. 785. Presents were given to the Imperial Envoys. In the account of expenses of Pius II. on the 29th March, 1459, is the entry: Flor. auri de camera 200 "oratori imperat. Friderici." *Div. PII II., 1458-60, f. 85, State Archives, Rome.

Pope speak of his wishes in regard to the Sienese Constitution. He again asked for the restitution of the nobles as a body, and desired that party names might be laid aside, for they kept up irritation amongst the people and fostered strife. Long deliberations ensued, in the course of which "some of the nobles proposed to rouse the mob, and carry their point by a *coup de main;* but Pius II. refused to sanction this. He would not do violence to his native city; at worst he would only withhold the favours that he had meant to bestow." It was finally decided that the nobles should be eligible for all posts and dignities, but that their actual share of preferment at any given time should be limited to a fourth, or, in some cases, an eighth part. So small a concession could not have satisfied the Pope, yet he accepted it graciously, at the same time expressing a hope that more would hereafter be done to carry out his wishes. As a token of his gratitude, he raised Siena to the dignity of a Metropolitan Church, and conferred the little town of Radicofani on the Republic as a perpetual fief.*

Before the departure of Pius II. from Siena, attempts were again made to dissuade him from holding a Congress. Its opponents not only sought to alarm him by representing all its possible dangers, but endeavoured also to prove that it was both useless and injurious.

Some Cardinals, devoted to the interests of France, even ventured to attempt to prejudice King Charles VII. against it. A letter written with this object fell into the Pope's hands, and nothing but the fear of a scandal

* VOIGT, III., 36–7, 562. The Bull making Radicofani a fief, dated Siena, 1459, April 18, is in the handwriting of the Pope, and is subscribed by Cardinals d'Estouteville, Scarampo, Orsini, Alain, Rolin, Calandrini, Barbo, Mila, Bessarion, Colonna, and Borgia. I found this Bull in the State Archives at Siena. C. LEONE, 199.

deterred him from punishing its author.* Meanwhile those who flattered themselves with the hope that Pius II. would be in any degree influenced by such arts were greatly mistaken. Firmly resolved to accomplish the promise which he had made before the whole world,† he steadily pursued his journey.‡

The Florentine Envoys received him at the frontier. Others awaited him at San. Casciano. Next came the Lords of Rimini, Forli, Faenza, and Carpi, and finally Galeazzo Maria Sforza, aged sixteen, the son of the Duke of Milan, attended by a retinue of 350 horsemen. The reception took place at the Certosa. Young Sforza leaped from his horse, kissed the Pope's foot and bade him welcome in a speech composed by the Humanist, Guiniforte da Barzizza. The Gonfaloniere, Angelo Vettori,

* Pii II. Comment. 48; Cugnoni, 192.

† Pius II. legato urbis dat. Senis, 1 April. 1459: Ex his, que variis ex locis accipimus, non putamus ipsam dietam etiam absente imperatore ita infructuosam futuram sicut est quorundam opinione multique respectus nos tenent ut personaliter sicut toti orbi promissum est illuc accedamus. Lib. brev. 9, f. 28, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Pius II. left Siena (to which place books were brought from Rome for him on the 3rd April, see *Div. Pii II., 1458–60, f. 86, State Archives, Rome) on the 23rd April, and arrived at Florence on the 25th; see Mittheil., 1885, p. 83, and *Ghirardacci *loc. cit.*, University Library, Bologna, Cod. 768. In a *Brief, dated Siena, 1459, March 21, he had already announced his arrival to the Florentines (X-2-23, f. 72b–73); a special messenger followed: *Die 14 Aprilis, 1459, venit ad mag. dominos magister Stephanus prothonotarius et referendarius ap. sedis, summi pontificis orator; he brought word that the Pope might soon be expected (X-1-52, f. 31b.). In the *Answer of the Florentines on the 16th April 1459, they say: Itaque S.V. sibi persuadeat volumus nos eam honorifice letissimis animis suscepturos et daturos operam, ne qua desint que vobis aut vestris accepta grataque fore arbitrabimur. State Archives, Florence, X-2-51, f. 103.

went before the Pope, whose litter was borne by the Lords, in some cases "reluctantly," to the Cathedral, and thence to Sta. Maria Novella, which had also been the residence of Martin V. and Eugenius IV.* Theatrical performances, combats of wild beasts, races and balls were given in honour of the illustrious guest.† "The learned and artistic Pope fully appreciated all the beautiful things which the wealthy city had to shew him." Cosmo de' Medici, having on the plea of indisposition excused himself from appearing, no business could be transacted. The only exception was the election of an Archbishop, St. Antoninus having just died (2nd May). The Florentines prayed that one of their fellow-citizens should be chosen, and Pius II. acceded to their wishes.‡

The Pope had intended to leave Florence on the 4th May, but remained there one day longer. On the 9th of the month he was at Bologna.§ In

* Pii II. Comment. 49; *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, III., f. 328, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna; Tartinius, II., 733 *seq.*; Richa, III., 116, VI., 241; Palacky, Urk. Beitr., 181; Müntz, Précurs., 130; Cipolla, 502. A good description of Pius II.'s entry is given also by Antonius Donatus in a letter to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Florence, 1459, April 26, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† See *Giovanni de Pedrino, Cronica di Forli, f. 261, Cod. 324 of the library of Prince Boncompagni at Rome.

‡ Reumont, Lorenzo, I., 128, 407, 2nd ed. Reumont believes that Cosmo was really indisposed. See for the opposite opinion Cugnoni, 193. The account given by Gregorovius, VII., 170, 3rd ed., is incorrect. The nomination of Orlando Bonarli (see Richa, VI., 241, and Ughelli, III., 231) is announced to the Florentines by Pius II. in a *Brief, dated Bononiae, 1459, quinto Id. Maii A° 1°, State Archives, Florence, X-2-23, f. 75.

§ *"El papa si parti da Fiorenza a di 5 del presente; a Bologna zonse a di 9." Juan Francesco da Cremona to Filipo and Matheo de Strozis at Naples, dated Roma, 28 maggio 14[59]. State Archives, Florence (C. Strozz., 242, f. 259). See *Despatch of Ant. Ricao to

crossing the Appenines, he ventured on dangerous ground. Latium, Sabina, Spoleto, and Tuscany were at least "within the sphere of Rome's influence, even if her hold on them was somewhat insecure. But on the other side of the Appenines, the Marches and Romagna, though included among the States of the Church, had their political centre in Milan and Venice." *

Bologna, proud of her freedom, was in a state of perpetual disquiet. The dominant party was as averse to the authority of the new Pope, as it had been to that of his predecessor,† and long deliberations had been held in reference to this journey. At last it had been decided that Pius II. should be invited to Bologna, but that at the same time Milanese forces should be brought into the city. The Pope consented to this arrangement on condition that the troops should swear fealty to him. The command was entrusted to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who had already given proofs of his devotion to the Holy See.‡ These circumstances are sufficient to account for

the Marquess of Mantua, dated Florence, 1459, May 5. Regarding Pius' intention of departing sooner, see *Despatch of the same, dated Florence, 1459, April 28 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and a *Letter from Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1459, April 27, State Archives, Milan.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 170, 3rd ed.

† See *Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1458, Nov. 14, Cod. 1588, f. 188 of the Fonds Ital. of the National Library, Paris. Pius II. had appointed the excellent A. Capranica, Governor of Bologna; see *Despatch of Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Sept. 12, in the State Archives, Milan. *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, III., 1, 30, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

‡ PII II. Comment. 55; Cronica di Bologna, 728 *seq.*; see FALEONI, 496. Regarding the mistrust of the Bolognese and the Pope's annoyance at their pretensions of independence, see *Despatch of

the shortness of his stay in the unfriendly city, which lasted only from the 9th to the 16th of May.* From thence he sent a Brief to King René of Provence, who, resenting the Coronation of Ferrante of Naples, would not permit it to be published. He also sent Briefs to King John II. of Aragon, and Henry VI. of England, both of whom he invited to take part in the Congress.†

Pius II. made his entry into Ferrara under a gold-embroidered baldacchino on the 17th May. His reception was magnificent. The streets were strewn with green branches, the windows adorned with splendid hangings and garlands of flowers, music and singing resounded on all sides. Borso, the Duke of Modena, did everything in his power to show extraordinary honour to the Pope.‡ But the long list of requests which he produced, considerably marred the effect of all this homage. Pius II. was not able to satisfy him completely. On the 25th May he bade farewell to his host, "whose petitions kept

Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Bologna, 1459, May 10th, Cod. Z-219 Sup. of Ambrosian Library.

* *Giov. de Pedrino (see *supra*, p. 56, note †) f. 261b ; Cronica di Bologna, 729 *seq.*; Annal. Bonon., 891 ; Guidicini, Miscell. Bol., 44, 55 *seq.* A detailed account of the sojourn of Pius II. in Bologna is given by *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, III., lib. 30, Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna ; see Arch. St. Ital., Ser., 3, 120 *seq.*

† Raynaldus, ad an. 1459, N. 39, and Appendix N. 10, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The *Brief from the State Archives of Bologna given in Appendix No. 17 shews that negotiations regarding the preliminaries of the Congress were at this time being carried on with the Bolognese.

‡ Diario Ferrar., 203 *seq.*; Palmerius, 243 ; Muratori, Antichità Est., II., 215 *seq.*; and especially the full *Reports of Antonius Donatus to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Ferrara, 1459, May 16, 17, 19, 20, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the *Chronicles of Ferrara in Cod. I-I-5, f. 33b and I-I-6, f. in the Chigi Library.

pace with his demonstrations of respect."* Thence the Pope passed on through Revere to the marshy plain in which lies the city of Virgil.

It was on the 27th May† that Pius II. entered Mantua, where he was welcomed with a splendour rivalling that which had been displayed at Perugia. "Three banners were carried before him; one of them bore the Cross, another the keys of the Church, and the third the arms of the Piccolomini, five golden crescents on an azure cross. The Pope, in gorgeous vestments, resplendent with purple and jewels, was borne in a litter by the nobles and vassals of the Church. At the gate, the Marquess Lodovico Gonzaga dismounted from his horse and presented him with the keys of the city. Perugia and Florence were the only other places where this had been done. Carpets were laid down in the streets, the houses were almost hidden by flowers, and the balconies and roofs were filled with richly-dressed ladies. The streets through which the Pope passed to the Palace were thronged with people shouting, Evviva Pio Secondo."‡

The Duke of Milan had sent his consort to Mantua to welcome the Head of the Church. On the following day the Duchess and her children appeared before the Pope. Sforza's charming daughter, Ippolita, who was

* Pii II. Comment. 56-8; VOIGT, III., 43.

† VAST says (235) the 28th; but *GHIRARDACCI, the Vatican Itinerary, cited *supra*, p. 48, note †; the inscription under Pinturicchio's fresco in the Library of the Cathedral at Siena; the Cronica di Bologna, 731; WADDING, XIII., 152, agree with Pius II. himself in naming the 27th as the day. See Lib. brev. 9, f. 34b: *Cardinali Augusten. (s.d.): "Ad diem 27 Maii duce deo Mantuam venimus." See in Appendix N. 11, the *Brief to the Bishop of Eichstädt, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 58-9, and VOIGT, III., 44. See Ist. Bresc., 891; PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 858; and *GHIRARDACCI, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 58, note.*

but fourteen years of age, on this occasion made a speech in Latin, which excited general admiration.* "A Goddess could not have spoken better," wrote Luigi Scarampo to a friend.†

But all this outward show of respect could not blind Pius II. to the real state of affairs. The city was crowded with strangers; excellent arrangements had been made for his accommodation;‡ but of all the Christian Kings and Princes to whom he had addressed repeated and urgent invitations, not one had taken the trouble to appear, and notwithstanding all their promises they had not deemed it necessary to send representatives invested with full powers.§ Such want of consideration towards

* See *Report of Otto de Carretto, dated Mantua, 1459, May 30, State Archives, Milan. Several MS. copies of Ippolita's speech and the Pope's answer exist; for example, in Rome, in the Barberini Library, XXIX., 157; at Munich, in the Court Library, Cod. Lat. 522 and 650; in Cod. 138, f. 10–11 of the Albornot Library, Bologna; in the Parma Library (see PEZZANA, III., 187). They are printed in MANSI, II., 192–4; see M. D'ESCOUCHY, II., 382; VOIGT, Wiederbelebung, I., 525, 2nd ed.; CIPOLLA, 526; MAGENTA, 456; JANITSCHEK, 113.

† *L. Scarampo to F. Strozzi, dated Mantua, 1459, June 2, State Archives, Florence. VOIGT'S idea (III., 615 and elsewhere) that the Poetess, Isotta Nogaroli, also made a speech in presence of Pius II. in Mantua, rests on mere conjecture; see APPONYI-ABEL, I., CXLIII., II., 143 *seq.*

‡ See the *Report of the Protonotary, Teodoro de Montefiore to the Marchioness Barbara, dated Siena, 1460, February 6, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Regarding the lodging provided for individual Cardinals, see EQUICOLA, Istoria di Mantova, 182 (Mantova, 1610) and of the place of Congress, Arch. St. Lomb., VI., 272.

§ CRIBELLUS, 77, says that only those Envoys who had accompanied the Pope on his journey were present. The names of the Representatives of Siena are in BANCHI, Istruz., 78. See the complaints in the *Letter of Pius II. to the Cardinal of Augsburg, Lib. brev. 9, f. 34b; see also Appendix N. 11, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Pope, who had himself arrived some days before the appointed time, promised ill for the future. Processions were at once made to implore the protection of the Almighty for the assembly.

On the 1st June, Pius II. opened the Congress with a solemn Mass* and a discourse in which he made no secret of his dissatisfaction. At the same time he declared himself resolved to persevere. If those who were invited did not come it would at least be evident that it was not the Pope who had been wanting in good will.† A circular letter to the same effect, and bearing the same date, was despatched to all the Christian Powers, and was immediately followed by exhortations to send Envoys invested with full powers.‡

Under these circumstances it was impossible that business should be definitely commenced. We cannot but admire the energy of the suffering Pontiff, who firmly refused to leave Mantua, though all those by whom he was

* See L. Scarampo's letter of June 2nd, 1459, cited *supra*, p. 60, note†, from the State Archives, Florence.

† MANSI, II., 206, according to a MS. in Lucca. (A second MS. of the discourse is in Cod. Harl., 4913, N. 2, in the British Museum); see VOIGT, III., 46, note 1.

‡ The circular letter "Iam duce altissimo," published by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 43; also in KAPRINAI, II., 304–5; and with an Appendix in the Fontes Rer. Austr., Pars Dipl., XLII., 279–80 from the original in the Archives of Weimar, is in *Lib. brev. 9, *not* f. 34, but f. 37b, 38b. On the first and second of June special letters were sent to the Emperor (see *infra*) and to the free cities. Of the latter, that to Cologne of 1st June, 1459 (original in the City Archives, Cologne), and one in similar terms to Frankfort of 2nd June (see the text in Appendix N. 13, City Archives, Frankfort), are still extant. In the Lib. brev. 9, f. 37, the following letters of exhortation are noted on the 2nd June, Salzburgen. archiepiscopo; communitati Basil.; ducibus Brunsvic.; duci Calabrie; duci Janue and to the Bank of St. George. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

surrounded did everything in their power to induce him to do so. The Pope, they complained, had acted without due consideration in coming to this place. Few Envoys were present. The situation was marshy, unhealthy, and hot, the wine and provisions bad. Many had fallen sick, pernicious fevers were carrying off not a few, and there was nothing to be heard but the croaking of frogs.*

The attitude of a certain number of the Cardinals was particularly distressing to the Pope. Those who, on different pretexts, departed from the dreary city, or who engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, were by no means the worst.† Others, especially those who sympathised with France, sought to defer the meeting of the Congress. No one spoke of the Pope more contemptuously than did Cardinal Scarampo. He characterised his scheme as childish ; the Pope, he said, had left Rome and was now wandering hither and thither asking for hospitality, and hoping by his persuasions to involve the Princes in the war, and to annihilate the Turks, whose troops were invincible. He would have done better to stay at home and take care of the Church. Scarampo even went so far as to dissuade the Venetians from sending representatives. Cardinal Tebaldo declared that the Pope had foolishly come to Mantua to enrich strangers, while he left his own people in poverty. Other Cardinals asked Pius II. to his face whether he wished them all to die of fever in the pestilent

* Pii II. Comment. 61. The Sienese Envoy, Mignanellus, complains of the great heat in a *Report dated Mantua, 1459, die apostolor. 29th June. State Archives, Siena.

† Among the entertainments were boating parties, in which Cardinals Colonna, Alain, and Borgia joined. The Pope rebuked them sharply ; see the interesting **Letter from the Marchioness Barbara to the Duchess of Milan, dated Mantua, 1459, July 10. State Archives, Milan.

air of Mantua. He ought, they said, to return to Rome; having come to the appointed place of meeting he had done enough to satisfy his honour. Did he really believe that he could by himself conquer the Turks?*

Notwithstanding all these efforts the Pope held firmly to his purpose of doing everything in his power for the defence of Western Christendom; Cardinals Bessarion and Torquemada stood by him loyally.† Again he issued letters of warning and of menace to all parts of the world; "but only slowly, and very slowly, did Envoys appear from one quarter and another." The European Princes in general showed the greatest indifference. They had no sympathy with the noble aspirations of Pius II., "who aimed at reviving the era of the Crusades."‡

The conduct of the Emperor was deplorable. On him, as the defender of Christendom, devolved, according to mediæval ideas, the duty of protecting the West against the attacks of Islam. Even if the Imperial dignity of that day was but a shadow of what it had been in the past, a certain prestige still clung to the throne of Charles

* Pii II. Comment. 61, with the additions in CUGNONI, 195. Cardinal Scarampo had gone back to Rome in the beginning of February, 1459. On the 8th of that month he wrote to Lodovico Gonzaga: *"Significamus vobis nos post varios casus ac pericula que hactenus terra marique perpessi fuimus tandem concedente altissimo ad almam urbem Romam rediisse atque in ea ad presens esse sanos atque incolumes." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The forbearance of Pius II. is shown in a *Brief, dated Perugia, 1459, Febr. 13, in which he congratulated Scarampo on his return. Lib. brev. 9, f. 12, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Torquemada wrote at this time a Treatise against the Arch-heretic Mahomet; see LEDERER, 268 and Bibl. Hisp. Vet., II., 289. Besides the MS. in the Vatican Library I know of two copies of Torquemada's work in the Library at Siena, G. VI., 4 (saec. 15) and G. VI., 3 (saec. 16).

‡ GEBHARDT, 29.

the Great. Pius II. therefore, from the beginning, attached special importance to the personal appearance of Frederick III. at Mantua, hoping that it would be the means of attracting the other Princes to the Congress.* The excuses of the Emperor were pitiful. He pleaded urgent affairs in Austria, and represented that he was not bound to attend, because the invitation had been indefinite, either to Udine or Mantua.† "The reply which our envoy at your Court transmits to us," wrote Pius II., on 26th January from Spoleto to the Emperor, "meets neither our expectations nor the necessities of the case. If you remain absent every one will deem himself sufficiently excused. For the honour, therefore, of the German nation, for the glory of your own name, for the welfare of the Christian religion, you are entreated to reconsider the matter and decide on attending the assembly."‡

Frederick III. was, when these exhortations reached him, engaged in political schemes directly opposed to the Pope's plans. "Instead of upholding Hungary in its integrity as the bulwark of Germany and of his own States, he entered upon a course calculated to break, or at least greatly weaken, the defensive power of that kingdom." He made an alliance with that party of Hungarian magnates which was hostile to the house of Corvinus, and, on the 4th March, 1459, had himself proclaimed King of Hungary.§

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 6.

† PII II. Comment. 41; see SCHMIDT'S opinion, Deutsche Gesch., IV., 234.

‡ *Lib. brev. 9, f. 6b, see Appendix N. 5; see f. 4b (Bapt. Brende. Dat. Spolet., 1459, Jan. 27), Secret Archives of the Vatican. The answer contained in the commentary gives us an insight into the sentiments of the Pope; see VOIGT, III., 47.

§ FESSLER-KLEIN, 19 *seq.*; MENZEL, VII., 262; HOFFMANN, 19 *seq.*

Pius II. had sought to assuage the strife between these two Princes, which interfered so seriously with his hopes, and enlist them both in the war against the Turks.* He was in Siena when the tidings of Frederick's usurpation arrived, and lost no time in remonstrating with him. "While the King of Hungary," he wrote on the 2nd April, "would willingly draw his sword against the Turks, he is harassed by hindrances from Christians. Discontented magnates persuade your Highness to take part in a change of government in this kingdom. We exhort You, for the sake of your own honour as well as for the common welfare of Christendom, to cease to give ear to the counsels of restless persons. For if, as may easily happen, war should break out in consequence of your action, the King, should he seek deliverance by a peace with the Turks, will be less to blame than he who has constrained him to so shameful a treaty. This kingdom is the shield of all Christendom, under cover of which we have hitherto been safe. But if the road is thus opened to the barbarians, destruction will break in over all, and the consequences of such a disaster will be imputed by God to its author."† Cardinal Carvajal, the Papal Legate in Hungary, was charged to use all diligence to avert violent proceedings and procure at least a truce for

* MENZEL, VII., 263; MAILATH, 40 *seq.*; FESSLER-KLEIN, 21; HOFFMANN, 15 *seq.* See in Appendix N. 6, the *Brief of 26th February, 1459, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† RAYNALDUS, ad. an. 1459, N. 15; MÜLLER, I., 721–2; PRAY, III., 230–1; KAPRINAI, II., 288–9; MAILATH, Appendix, 12–16; THEINER, II., 324. See MENZEL, *loc. cit.*; VOIGT, III., 663. O. de Carretto, writing on the 25th March, from Siena to Fr. Sforza, says: *"Qui e venuta novella che li Ungari hanno ellecto lo Imperatore per suo Re, pur la Sta. de Nro. S. dice ancora non haverla ben certa, monstra li dispiaceria questa cosa propter damnum christiane fidei." State Archives, Milan.

the ensuing summer. But his labours were vain, and open war was declared between Frederick III. and Matthias Corvinus.*

The Emperor soon caused fresh trouble to the Pope. Instead of the distinguished embassy which had been expected, men of so little consequence appeared on his behalf that Pius II. at once dismissed them, requiring him to send personages fitted by their rank, to represent him worthily at the assembly and have a decisive voice in its deliberations.† On the 11th June, Pius II. again addressed the Emperor. "We have learned," he says, "that our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of France, is negotiating with your Highness for the transfer of the present Congress of Mantua to some place in Germany. If this be the case the labour will be lost, for as we have left our Apostolic Chair and come a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, not without great personal inconvenience, to meet your Highness and the other Christian Princes, it is right that they also should leave their courts, and at the summons of the Vicar of Christ, have the affairs of the Faith laid before them and consider their duty. We beg your Highness to give no encouragement to such suggestions."‡

On the 6th July, Pius II. admonished the Emperor in view of the complaints which might be expected from the

* Mon. Hung., I., 51 *seq.*; VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; HOFFMANN, 25 *seq.*

† *Brief of 30th April, see Appendix, N. 9; see PII II. Comment. 65; and a letter of the 1st June in MAILATH, Appendix, 26–8; and KAPRINAI, II., 305–6. A *Brief of 2nd June again demanding that Ambassadors should be sent by the Emperor is in the Lib. brev. 9, f. 40, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ In MAILATH, Appendix, 39-42, the Brief is dated June 4th, but in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 45, the 11th June is clear; here is also the correct reading, *Vacet potius*, instead of *vocet.*

Hungarian Envoys, quickly to appoint suitable representatives. Finally, the Pontiff sent him a blessed sword and hat to remind him of his duty. All, however, was in vain. The autumn arrived and no Imperial mission was yet in sight.*

The German Princes were not more zealous than their Head; repeatedly and in vain were they summoned, and when, after considerable delay, some came or sent Envoys, it was not on account of the Turks or of the Faith, but from merely selfish motives.†

* MAILATH, Appendix, 45 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 51. The conclusion of the Brief which accompanied the sword and hat is wanting in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 44. It is as follows: "Praesentator autem huius ensis ac pilei erit dil. fil. Sebaldus N., familiaris noster ac scutifer, cui cum nonnulla commiserimus eidem tue Subl. nostro nomine referenda eandem in domino exhortamur, ut [velis] ipsum benigne audire et commendatum habere nostro intuitu. (The Brief immediately preceding this is dated: Mantuae, x. Julii, A° 1°.) Lib. brev. 9, f. 54b–55, Secret Archives of the Vatican. The exact date appears from the following entry: *"Sebaldo de Noremberga S.D. N. pape scutifero et deferenti spatam ad seren. Romanorum imperatorem flor. quinquaginta pro eius expensis. Mantuae, xiiii. Julii, 1459." Div. PII II. 1458–60, f. 102, State Archives, Rome.

† VOIGT, III., 51. The Brief of July 25th to William of Saxony, given by MÜLLER, Reichtags-Theater, I., 620, is preserved in the Archives of Weimar. BACHMANN needlessly publishes it again in the Fontes Dipl., XLII., 282–3, and makes some mistakes. For example, instead of Anonia, it should read *quoniam;* and instead of accedat, *accendat.* A Papal Letter of the 13th August, 1459 (original in the Archives at Dresden), complains that the Elector, Frederick the Mild, like the other German Princes, notwithstanding frequent invitations, failed to appear at Mantua on the appointed day, June 1st, and requests him to attend a new Assembly on St. Martin's Day. We do not, however, learn that the Elector complied with this fresh invitation; see WEBER, Archiv für Sächs. Gesch., V. (1867), p. 129. The ecclesiastical Princes were equally dilatory; see Appendix N. II: *Letters to the Bishop of Eichstätt and the Archbishop of Salzburg. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

"Day and night," wrote the Pope on the 11th June to Cardinal Carvajal, "We are unwearied in exhorting the Christian Princes and powers to unite for the salvation of Christendom. We shall not cease to labour to the end; We shall neglect nothing that seems to be pleasing to God and Our duty, hoping that the Divine goodness will not permit our efforts to be fruitless."* Pius II. certainly was not wanting in zeal, but all his eloquence did not avail to rouse the German Princes from their lethargy.

Worse even than the indifference of Germany was the hostile attitude of France, the second of the great Powers of Christendom. Ever since Ferrante's investiture with Naples, the French King, Charles VII., who favoured the pretensions of Anjou, had constantly aimed at reversing this act. He hoped to attain his object by making his co-operation in the Crusade conditional on a change in the Italian policy of Pius II. The King next manifested his discontent by answering the Pope's letter of invitation by a "significant menace," reminding him of the anti-Roman Assembly of Bourges, and then, in spite of all exhortations, delaying as long as possible in sending his Envoys. No one at the Papal Court doubted that violent dissensions were to be expected when they arrived.†

The Republics of Florence and Venice used the Neapo-

* MAILATH, III., Appendix, pp. 33–5. The trouble that the Pope took to induce individual Princes to attend the Congress appears from H. Leubing's reports in KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 367 *seq.*

† Pius II.'s letter of invitation and the King's (undated) reply are in ÆN. SYLV. Opp., pp. 859–60, edit. Basil. Both are also to be found in Cod. Regin. 557, f. 98–98b, Vatican Library. Here again Charles VII.'s letter is without a date. See also VOIGT, III., 52. Two *Hortatory Briefs, issued by Pius II. on the 8th June and 14th July 1459, are in Lib. brev. 9, f. 40 and 55, Secret Archives of the Vatican; see Appendix N. 14.

litan difficulties as a cloak to cover that aversion to the war which was really due to their mercantile interests. Pius II. ceased not to exhort them both by messengers and by Briefs. On the 14th of May, when at Bologna, he had again called upon the Florentines to send Envoys to the Congress, invested with full powers. On the 1st and on the 12th June the same request was repeated from Mantua, but in vain. Accordingly, on the 28th July, another letter was addressed to Florence. It proved as ineffectual as its predecessors. On the 16th of August, Pius II. complained that the Florentines, although so near to the city where the Congress was to meet, had not yet sent any representatives. He had, he said, waited for eighty days; his patience was now exhausted, and, if this last summons should remain unheeded, he would be compelled to bring a public accusation against Florence.*

Meanwhile, living witnesses to the danger which threatened from the East had arrived in Mantua. Messengers imploring succour came from Epirus, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Lesbos, together with Envoys from the hard-pressed Thomas Palaeologus. These latter, who brought the Pope sixteen Turkish captives, declared, with true Byzantine boastfulness, that a small army of assistance from Italy would suffice to drive the Turks from the Peninsula! When the matter was discussed in Consistory, the Pope justly observed that so small a force would be utterly insufficient. Only the representations of the enthusiastic and unpractical Bessarion induced him to grant the troops, a third part of which were furnished by the

* I found the **Documents cited above in the State Archives, Florence, Class. X., dist. 2, N. 23, f. 75b–80b. See also the Lib. brev. 9, f. 65–6 (*Brief to the Archbishop of Florence, s. d., *circa* 14th August) and f. 68 to Florence; see Appendix N. 24, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Duchess of Milan. The event proved the Pope to have been right. The Crusaders arrived in time to assist Thomas in a fresh and fruitless siege of Patras, and then dispersed and scattered themselves over the unhappy land, plundering and devastating as they went.*

The representatives of Matthias Corvinus reached Mantua in the end of July, and were received as Royal Envoys. They had been preceded by messengers from the King of Bosnia asking for assistance, and then the alarming tidings had come that the important fortress of Smedervo, at the junction of the Morawa with the Danube, was in the hands of the infidels. "There is nothing now," said the Pope, "to prevent the Turks from attacking Hungary."†

For eleven weeks Pius II. waited, but as yet none of the European sovereigns had arrived, and of the Italian Princes the King of Naples alone had sent representatives. There was no prospect of a commencement of business. In order to avoid vexatious disputes, such as had already broken out among the members of the Court, the Pope, on the 15th August, issued a proclamation to the effect that the order of precedence adopted

* Pii II. Comment. 61; WADDING, XIII., 117 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 193–200; VOIGT, III., 57. Regarding the troops provided by Milan, see the Despatch of G. Mignanelli of the 16th July 1459, in Tre Lettere, p. 9.

† Pii II. Comment. 61. Despatch of Carretto of the 29th June in Mon. Hung., I., 62 *seq.* Despatch of G. Mignanelli of 26th July, see Tre Lettere, p. 12; KLAIC, 407 *seq.* Pius II. announced the fall of Smedervo to Albert of Brandenburg on July 24th (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 56), and on the same day to Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol (Secret Archives, Vienna). On the 25th July he wrote to Steph. de Nardinis: *"Zendren. oppido amisso secundum vulnus christianitati inlatum est et Turcis liber in Ungariam patet excursus." Lib. brev. 9, f. 56b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

in the Assembly should not prejudicially affect any future claims on that point.*

At last, in the middle of August, to the great relief of Pius II. a brilliant Embassy from the powerful Duke of Burgundy made its entry into Mantua. The Duke, indeed, did not appear in person as he had promised, but in his stead he sent his nephew, Duke John of Cleves, and Jean de Croix, the Lord of Chimay, with a retinue of 400 horse.† The Marquess of Mantua, with an equally splendid suite, and several of the Cardinals, went forth to greet Duke John, who, on the following day, appeared before the Pope in Consistory. Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, who accompanied the Duke, made a speech in which he excused his master's absence, and gave assurances of his readiness to take part in the defence of Christendom. The little importance to be attached to these professions became evident during the ensuing days, when negotiations were entered on in detail. The Duke of Cleves declared that he could not enter

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 59.

† SCHIVENOGLIA, 139, is wrong in placing the entry on the 7th September. In the Chroniques des Ducs de Bourgogne (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 227, Brussels, 1873), and in the Mém. de J. du Clercq, III., c. 45, there are no dates. *Pius II. wrote on the 10th July to the Duke of Burgundy: "Intelleximus generositatem tuam delegisse oratores ad dietam ducem Cliven. et alios"; his appearance in person would have given him still more pleasure, but the Envoys are very welcome, the Pope praises the Duke for having sent them. Lib. brev. 9, f. 54, Secret Archives of the Vatican. From a *Brief of Pius II. to the Duke of Savoy, dated Mantua, 1459, Sept. 3 (Plut. LXXXX., Sup. Cod. 138, N. 24 of the Laurentian Library, Florence), which contains the following words: *"Dux Clivensis iam per mensem apud nos fuit," it might be supposed that the Embassy had reached Mantua in the beginning of August. From MATTH. D'ESCOUCHY, II., 386, we learn, however, that it halted five miles from Mantua on the 16th; the entry must accordingly have taken place on the 18th.

upon Turkish affairs until the Pope had complied with his wish in regard to the affair of Soest. Pius II. yielded, but gained no thanks by his concession. The Envoys then explained that their master had only agreed to co-operate in the Crusade if some other of the Princes first set the example, and the Pope had to content himself with a promise that the Duke would send 2000 horsemen and 4000 foot soldiers to the relief of Hungary.* The Duke of Cleves now wished to return home, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the Pope induced him to defer his departure until the 6th, and afterwards until the 10th September, when the Duke of Milan and Borso d'Este were to arrive.† As, however, to the Pope's great annoyance, the latter retracted his promise,‡ and

* Pii II. Comment. 65 *seq.*; Matthieu d'Escouchy, II., 387 *seq.*; Voigt, III., 60 *seq.*; Fierville, 86 *seq.* In a *Brief of the 16th Sept. 1459, to the Duke of Burgundy, Pius II. expresses a hope that he would do more to aid the Turkish war. Regarding the promises of the Ducal Envoys, he here observes: "Quæ etsi contemnenda non sunt, sed laudanda, non tamen ea sunt quae sperabamus nec expectationi aliarum nationum satisfactum videtur." Copy in the Codex of the Laurentian Library cited above.

† See Appendix N. 25 and Lib. brev. 9, f. 70b: *Duci Mediolani, dated 3rd Sept.: "To-day, after many prayers, the Duke of Cleves has consented to wait until the 11th of September. The Duke must, therefore, hasten so as to be in Mantua by this time." (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The arrival of Fr. Sforza had been looked for by the middle of August; see Despatch of G. Mignanelli, dated Mantua, 1459, Aug. 1, in Tre Lettere, p. 16. Mignanelli's death occurred soon afterwards, and in announcing it to the Sienese, Pius II. wrote as follows: *"Hortamur devotionem vestram in domino, ut quantocius oratores novos et pleno mandato instructos mittatis." Brief of August 21, 1459, Plut. LXXXX., Sup. Cod. 138, N. 18 of the Laurentian Library, Florence.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 73, and Cugnoni, 195. See the **Briefs to Borso of 29th July, 4th and 8th Sept., Lib. brev. 9, f. 59, 71, 76b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Francesco Sforza again postponed his arrival, Duke John refused to wait any longer. The Lord of Chimay, who was suffering much from fever, also left Mantua. "With difficulty the Pope detained two subordinate members of the Embassy, so that Burgundy might not be altogether unrepresented. For several days he was nearly alone with the members of his Court and the Eastern Envoys. Three months had now passed since the day appointed for the opening of the Assembly, and with the exception of the Imperial Embassy which Pius II. had sent back, the Burgundian Mission which he had been unable to detain, and some unimportant Envoys from certain Bishops and Cities who were carrying on business of their own at the Court, no representatives had appeared, save those sent by Ferrante of Naples."*

A change for the better took place in the latter part of September, when Francesco Sforza, after repeated invitations from the Pope, at last came in person to the Congress.† He arrived in the Mincio with forty-seven ships; the Marquess of Mantua and his Consort Barbara, with twenty-two vessels, went some way out to meet him. A Mantuan chronicler gives a vivid description of the approach of this magnificent fleet to the City.‡ The

* VOIGT, III., 63; MAGENTA, I., 456. In relation to Ferrante's Envoys, see PELLICIA, IV., 299; Arch. Neapolit., II., 47 (1877).

† See *supra*, p. 72, and the *Briefs of the 29th July, and the 25th August, in Appendix N. 18 and 25, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ SCHIVENOGLIA, 140. This chronicler, who is little to be relied on in the matter of dates, gives the 25th September as the day of Sforza's arrival. In the State Archives of Milan (Pot. Sovrane), however, there is a *Letter from the Duke to his wife, written from Mantua on the 19th Sept. 1459. If the date attached to Filelfo's Speech 92b (Oratt. Paris, 1515, f. 92b, and MITTARELLI, Bibl. S. Michael, 888) is genuine, Fr. Sforza arrived at Mantua on the 17th September. SIMONETA (689) has no date.

Duke and his sumptuous retinue excited universal admiration. On the following day he went with great pomp to the Pope. Pius II. received him in open Consistory and assigned him a seat immediately after the Cardinal Deacons. The Humanist Filelfo made a speech; he promised that his master would, at the Pope's command, devote all his energies to the war against the Infidel, "as far as the state of Italy permitted."* This last point was warmly discussed in the private interviews which took place on the ensuing days between the Duke and the Pope. Neapolitan affairs formed the subject of consideration.

The party opposed to Ferrante, headed by Giovanni Antonio degli Orsini, the tyrannical Prince of Tarento, had, even as early as the commencement of 1459, begun to agitate against the King.† Pius II. had at once done his best to meet the danger which thus threatened the peace of Italy.‡ But the Prince of Tarento never rested until, in August, an open insurrection against Ferrante broke out. Jean, the son of René, the French claimant, was

* Fr. Sforza had already, on the 24th Feb., 1459, assured the Pope of his readiness to proceed against the Turks, adding, however, that he could not carry out so great an undertaking alone. * Fr. Sforza to O. de Carretto, dated Milan, 1459, Feb. 24, State Archives, Milan.

† On the 1st August, 1458, O. de Carretto in a cipher *Despatch from Rome to Fr. Sforza says: "Il Card. di Colonna me disse che il principe de Taranto per niun modo delibera dare obedientia al Re Ferrando." State Archives, Milan.

‡ See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 79–80, *Brief of the 18th March in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Appendix N. 18) and **Fr. Sforza's letter of the 17th March, 1459, State Archives, Milan. In a *Brief, dated Siena, 1459, February 27, Pius II. speaks of his grief at the strife between Ferrante and the Prince of Taranto, and calls upon the Florentines to send a Mission to Naples to bring about a reconciliation. X-2-23., f. 70b 71, State Archives, Florence.

summoned to support the rising, and assumed the title of Duke of Calabria. The success of this chivalrous Prince in Naples would have given Sforza reason to fear a similar attack from Orleans on the Duchy which he had won with no small difficulty, and his title to which had not yet been recognised by the Emperor.* Moreover, French influence would have become predominant in Italy, and a death-blow been struck at its existing political constitution. In view of the opposition of France to the Crusade, Sforza had no difficulty in inducing Pius II. to support Ferrante.†

The immediate effect of the presence of the most distinguished of Italian Princes at Mantua was to induce most of the other States of the Peninsula to send representatives. Almost every day witnessed a fresh arrival. The Sienese Envoys, writing on the 25th September, were able to describe the beautiful city of Mantua as adorned by the presence of many Prelates, many Lords, Ambassadors and Courtiers.‡ Even the Venetians at last made up their minds to send a mission. This determination was arrived at after long and animated discussions.

* BUSER, Bezieh. 95 *seq.* In a *Despatch from O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 20, Cod. 1588, f. 131 of the Fonds Ital., National Library, Paris, I found the first intimation that the Pope, who was on such friendly terms with Frederick III., might intervene in the question of the Imperial confirmation.

† SIMONETA, 690. No mention of these important negotiations occurs in the Duke's *Letters to his wife, but Fr. Sforza repeatedly speaks of his many affairs. *Letters of 21st and 29th Sept. 1459, in the State Archives, Milan *loc. cit.*, see Appendix N. 28.

‡ SCHIVENOGLIA, 141. *Despatch of the Sienese Envoy Nicol. Severinus and Lodovicus de Petronibus, dated Mantua, 1459, Sept. 25: "Mantua hoggi è molto ornata di prelati, di signori, di ambascatori e di molta corte et è una bella Mantua." State Archives, Siena.

The most influential personages in the city opposed the Crusade from purely commercial considerations, because it threatened to put a stop to their profitable trade with Turkey. The Doge, Pasquale Malipiero, "a great friend of peace, a lover of good cheer, and of the fair sex," kept up very amicable relations with the Sultan.* Efforts had at first been made to put the Pope off with fair promises;† at last, after repeated importunities on his part, on the 29th July, Orsato Giustiniani and Luigi Foscarini were chosen to represent the Republic at the Congress.‡ All through the month of August their departure was delayed in the hope that Pius II. would be wearied out by procrastination and disappointments.§ As early as the 3rd August he had exhorted the Doge to send the Envoys who had then just been elected. On the 25th of the same month he issued another Brief to the Venetians, complaining bitterly of their delay. He now adopted "a tone

* VOIGT, III., 69; great confusion regarding dates prevails in this work, and in MALIPIERO, 7. SANUDO, 1167, and ROMANIN, IV., 309, give but scanty details. The real facts are found in the hitherto unknown *Acts of the State Archives, Venice.

† *Sen. Secr. XX., f. 183b.: "1459 die xi. Junii. Delatum est nobis breve S. Vre. diei primi presentis . . . Intelleximus quoque quantum S. Vra. cupida est, ut ad eius conspectum legationem nostram mittamus. Nos, beatissime pater, de more maiorum nostrorum in consueto proposito nostro perseverantes Vre. B. nunciamus, quod quemadmodum et per oratores nostros et per litteras sibi significasse recordamur dispositio et intentio nostra est mittere legationem nostram ad presentiam Vre. Clementie. De parte 128; de non 7; non sinc. 5." State Archives, Venice.

‡ **Sen. Secr. XX., f. 188, State Archives, Venice. The **Brief to Paolo Morosini, dated Mantua, 1459, July 21, bears witness to the pressure used by the Pope. In the Cod. of the Laurentian Library, cited *supra*, p. 72, note †.

§ Duci Venetiarum, dated Mantua, 1459, Aug. 3, Lib. brev. 9, f. 68, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

of reproach instead of one of supplication; it was whispered," he said, "that the Venetians held more with the Turks than with the Christians, and were concerned for their trade, not for faith and religion." At the same time Pius II. declared his settled determination of beginning the business of the Congress on the 1st September. If Venice still tarried he would be constrained to complain publicly of the bad dispositions of the Republic.* The Signoria, on the 3rd September, made answer that their representatives would without fail set out on the 15th.† This promise was due to the appearance of the Duke of Milan at Mantua. A glance at the instructions given to the Ambassadors reveals the real purpose of the Republic: "They are only to give a general promise, that if the Christian Princes unite their forces in a common expedition against the infidels, Venice will do her duty."‡ On the evening of the 23rd September, the Venetian Envoys, escorted by 500 horsemen, made their entry into Mantua with great pomp. The whole Court and all the Princes who were there, including even the Duke of Milan, went forth to meet them.§ On the following day they were

* MALIPIERO, 7–10; VOIGT, III., 70. The bearer B. de Boscho was only to deliver the letter in case of necessity; see the *Brief of the 25th August addressed to him. To this matter also relates a **Letter to the Archbishop of Crete, who was to influence Venice in the interests of the Pope. Copies of both Letters in the Laurentian Library, Florence *loc. cit.*

† **Sen. Secr. XX., f. 188, State Archives, Venice.

‡ MALIPIERO, 10; VOIGT, III., 70. The excuses to be offered by the Venetian Ambassadors were of a very general nature; see the **Letter of the 17th Sept., 1459, Sen. Secr. XX., f. 189b-190, State Archives, Venice.

§ See PII II. Comment. 82, and the *Despatch of Nic. Severinus and Lod. de Petronibus, dated Mantua, 1459, Sept. 25, State Archives, Siena. SCHIVENOGLIA, 140, is wrong in asserting that the Venetians

received in public Consistory. Foscarini promised great things if the expedition against the Turks were taken up by all the Christian powers in union. "It was evident that this condition would furnish a ready pretext for evading an engagement which was only made because it could not be avoided. How could it be expected that all nations without exception would join in this expedition?"* The Pope in his reply pointed out the difficulty of this condition. He also could not refrain from reproaching the Venetians for being, although the nearest to Mantua, the last to appear there. In all else he commended the good intentions of the Republic.†

At last, on the 26th September, four months after the arrival of the Pope, it was possible to hold the first sitting of the Congress. The assembly was to meet in the Cathedral. After a Mass of the Holy Ghost had been said,‡ the Pope rose, and, in a carefully considered discourse, which lasted two hours, explained the necessity and the object of a general crusade, the means by which its success might be assured, and the reward which awaited those who should take part in it.§

arrived on the 26th September. Luigi Scarampo writes to Filippo de Strozziis at Naples: "dd. In Mantoa a di xxiii. Setembre, 1459. Questa vi scrivo solo per avisarvi como eri sera gionseno li ambasatori di Venitiani con grandissimo triomfo. Il Sre. ducha di Milano gle ando ascontrare circha ii. migla; fo reputato da ogni persona ch'abia usato una grandissima humanita; altro non avemo . . ." C. Strozz., 337, f. 40, State Archives, Florence.

* K. A. MENZEL, VII., 267.

† PII II. Comment. 82. See the *Despatch of the Sienese envoy of 25th Sept. 1459, cited *supra*. The discourse of Pius II. is in MANSI, II., 182.

‡ See *Sforza's letter of the 26th Sept. 1459, Appendix, N. 27, State Archives, Milan. Regarding the contest for precedence, see ZINKEISEN, II., 258.

§ The discourse (regarding which the Report of P. Camulius in

Pius II. began his address with a prayer, and then proceeded in eloquent terms to describe the losses which Christendom had suffered at the hands of the unbelievers. "The Holy Land flowing with milk and honey, the soil which brought forth the Saviour, the temple of Solomon, in which He so often preached, Bethlehem, where He was born, the Jordan, wherein He was baptized, the Mount of the Transfiguration, Calvary, whereon His Precious Blood was shed, the Sepulchre, in which His Sacred Body had rested, all have long been in the hands of our enemies; without their permission we cannot look upon these Holy places. But these are ancient losses; let us turn to what has happened in our own days and through our own fault. We ourselves, and not our fathers, have allowed Constantinople, the chief city of the East, to be conquered by the Turks, and while we sit at home in slothful ease, they are pressing on to the Danube and the Save. In the royal city of the East they have slain the successor of Constantine and his people, desecrated the temples of the Lord, defiled the noble church of Justinian with their Mahometan abominations. They have destroyed the images of the Mother of God and of the Saints, cast down altars, thrown the relics of the Martyrs to the swine, killed the priests, dishonoured wives and daughters, even consecrated virgins, and murdered the nobles of the city. At the Sultan's

VIGNA, I., 951 *seq.*, may be consulted) is frequently to be met with in MS. (Rome, Barberini Library, xxix., 152, f. 1 *seq.*, and Vatican Library, Cod. Vatic. 5667, f. 1 *seq.*; British Museum, 4913, N. 7; Vienna Court Library, 3449; Munich Library, Cod. 519; Berne Library, Cod. 531, f. 125a *seq.*) and has been repeatedly published. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, Opp., 905 *seq.*; MANSI, II., 9–29; MÜLLER, I., 647 *seq*; LABBÉ, XVIII., 220 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 258 *seq.*; MENZEL, VII., 267 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 71 *seq.*; HEINEMANN, 23.

banquet, the image of our crucified Redeemer was dragged through the mire and spat upon, while they shouted: 'This is the God of the Christians!' All these things have been done before our eyes, yet we remain as it were asleep, though indeed we are alert enough in fighting among ourselves. Christians fly to arms and shed each other's blood for any trifle, but no one will raise a hand against the Turks who blaspheme our God, who destroy our Churches, and seek utterly to root out the Christian name. Truly, 'all have turned from the way; they are become unprofitable together; there is none that doth good, no, not one!' People say, indeed, that these things are past and cannot be undone, that now we shall have peace; but can we expect peace from a nation which thirsts for our blood, which has already planted itself in Hungary, after having subjugated Greece? Lay aside these infatuated hopes. Mahomet will never lay down his arms until he is either wholly victorious or completely vanquished. Each success will be only a stepping-stone to the next until he has mastered all the Western Monarchs, overthrown the Christian Faith, and imposed the law of his false prophet on the whole world."

After shewing that in the populous countries of the West it was possible to levy forces amply sufficient to cope with the Turks, he concludes by exclaiming: "Oh, that Godfrey, Baldwin, Eustace, Hugh, Boemund, Tancred, and those other brave men who reconquered Jerusalem, were here! Truly they would not need so many words to persuade them. They would stand up and shout as they did of old before Our predecessor Urban II.: 'God wills it! God wills it!' You wait in silence and unmoved for the end of Our discourse. And it may be that there are some among you who say: 'This Pope exhorts us to fight, and expose our lives to

the sword of the enemy; that is the way of priests. They lay heavy burdens on others, and will not themselves touch them with a finger.' Do not believe it, my Sons! No one who, within the memory of your fathers, has occupied this chair has done more for the faith of Christ than We, with your help and the grace of God, will do. We have come here, weak enough, as you see, not without bodily risk, and not without detriment to the States of the Church. We have deemed the defence of the Faith of more value than the Patrimony of St. Peter, than our own health and repose. Oh, had We but the youthful vigour of former days,* you should not go without us into battle or into danger. We ourselves would bear the Cross of our Lord; We would uphold the banner of Christ against the infidel, and would think ourselves happy if it were given to us to die for the Faith. And now, if it seems well to you, We will not hesitate to devote our sickly body and our weary soul to Christ the Lord in this holy enterprise. Gladly, if you advise it, will We be borne in our litter into the camp, and into the battlefield itself. Go and take counsel, and see what may be most profitable to the Christian cause. We do not deal in fine words, hiding a cowardly heart. We will hold nothing back, neither person nor goods."

Bessarion, the one among the Cardinals who had always taken the most lively interest in Oriental affairs, answered in the name of the Sacred College. He began by praising the Pope, and declaring that the Cardinals were well inclined for the Holy War. In a discourse amply garnished with Christian and classical allusions, he described the deeds of horror perpetrated by the Turks,

* O si, quae fuerant, juvenili in corpore vires! VOIGT, III., 72, rightly conjectures these words to be taken from a classical author, but does not mention his name. The passage is from VIRGIL, Aen., v., 475.

and the danger which threatened religion, concluding by calling upon all Christian Princes and nations, for whom our Lord had shed His blood, to take up arms against the infidels with full confidence in the help of God.*

The Ambassadors now all expressed their adhesion, and Francesco Sforza also declared himself ready to comply with the Pope's wishes. The Bishop of Trieste, who acted as the Emperor's representative, kept silence, even when the Hungarian Ambassadors made bitter complaints against Frederick III. Pius II. rebuked them for this unseemly introduction of their private quarrels. At last the Assembly unanimously resolved on war against the Turks. For the carrying out of this determination, the Pope adopted the "only expedient possible" under the existing circumstances. He did not again call the Congress together, but treated with each of the several nations separately.†

* VAST, whose monograph is very defective, is mistaken (238) in believing this discourse to be unpublished. It appeared in the last century in CONTARINI, Anecdota Veneta, 276–83. Besides the Codex cited by Vast (National Library, Paris, Fonds Lat., 4154, f. 116–23), I may mention the following MS. copies :—(1) *Ibid.*, 12,532, f. 187 *seq.*; (2) Rome, Vatican Library, Ottob. 1754; Altaemps, f. 279-80 (defective); Vatican, 3526, f. 26 *seq.*; Vatican, 4037, p. 1, f. 77-81; Vatican, 5109, f. 27–33b; (3) Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. LIV., Cod. ii., f. 223 *seq.* According to ERSCH-GRUBER, IX., 298, there is also a copy in the Library at Naples, Cod. ii., d. 44. His remarks on the copy in BORGIA, Anecdot. Litt., are founded on a mistake. In Cod. 4154 of the National Library, as well as in Cod. Vatic. 5109, the following words, which are wanting in Contarini's version, are at the conclusion of the discourse: *"Dixi et quidem prolixius quam debueram, sed quaeso affectui meo id tribuendum putet tua clementia et vestra humanitas veniamque prestetis."

† See *Letter of Fr. Sforza of 26th September 1459, State Archives, Milan, in Appendix N. 27; Pii II. Comment. 82–3; VIGNA., I., 952–3; VOIGT, III., 73; ZINKEISEN, II., 260 *seq.*

The first consultation was with the Italians, and took place on the 27th September. The Duke of Milan, the Marquess of Mantua, and the Marquess of Montferrat, the Lord of Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta, the Envoys of the King of Naples, and those of the King of Aragon, as ruler of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, with the representatives of Venice, Florence, Siena, Ferrara, Lucca, and Bologna, were present.* After some introductory remarks from the Pope, the details of the expedition came under consideration. In regard to the operations by sea, the Venetian Envoys, though they only took part in the Council as private individuals, were given a decisive voice. For the prosecution of the war on land, Francesco Sforza recommended that the best soldiers from the countries nearest to Turkey should be chosen, because they had most knowledge of the enemy, while Italy and the more distant countries should contribute only money. All present agreed to this, except Sigismondo Malatesta. "I also," replied Pius II., with his usual tactful consideration for the susceptibilities of his fellow-countrymen, "should advocate the choice of Italian soldiers, whose prowess in the field is unsurpassed, were any other nation capable of furnishing pecuniary aid. But Italy alone can do this, and therefore the other nations must provide men and ships, that all the burden may not fall on one. We must also consider that it would be difficult for us to call on

* Pii II. Comment. *loc. cit.* The *Instruction of the 14th Sept. 1459, for the Sienese Envoys, desires them to represent to the Pope the exhausted state of the resources of the city (Instruct. VIII., State Archives of Siena). Regarding the Bolognese Envoys, see Cronica di Bologna, 731, and *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna *loc. cit.* (Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna), and Atti dell' Emilia, N.S. IV., 1, 169. Bologna also had to be exhorted to send them ; see in Appendix, N. 17, the Brief of 28th July, 1459, State Archives, Bologna.

our captains to fight in a foreign country. Here war is carried on with no danger to life, and for high pay. With the Turks the strife is deadly, and the reward rather in the next world than in this. We, therefore, advise that for three years the clergy shall contribute the tenth, the laity the thirtieth, and the Jews the twentieth part of their income to the support of the war."*

The representatives of Venice and Florence, the States which had the largest resources at their command, raised the greatest objections to this proposal.† Both of these Republics leaned to the side of France, which maintained the claims of Anjou on Naples, and were accordingly already ill-inclined towards the Pope; but the narrow and selfish policy of these mercantile States, which considered nothing but their own commercial interests, was the chief cause of their opposition to the war.

On the 30th September the representatives of the Italian powers again assembled. The Pope insisted that all present should, with their own hands, sign the decree regarding the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth part. None but the Venetian Envoys openly refused to comply with his desire. The attitude of the Florentines was doubtful, but it was believed that they would follow the example of the Venetians.‡ Pius II., however, succeeded in making

* Pii II. Comment. 83 *seq.*; Platina, Hist. Mant., 859; Menzel, VII., 270 *seq.*; Zinkeisen, II., 261 *seq.*; Heinemann, 23–4. Regarding the possibility of warfare being carried on by the mercenary bands without bloodshed, to which Pius II. alludes in his discourse, see Blondus, Hist., 394 (Basil., 1559).

† Regarding the delay of both these States in sending their representatives, see *supra*, pp. 68 and 70. A *Letter dated 1459, Aug. 23, at last announced to the Pope that the Florentine Orators would shortly be sent. Cl. x. dist. 1. N. 51, f. 155, State Archives, Florence.

‡ See Appendix N. 31, *Despatch of the Sienese Envoys of the 1st Oct., 1459, State Archives, Siena.

a secret agreement with them ;* but all his efforts to win Venice were in vain. This State continued to pursue its ancient policy of laying down impossible conditions. It claimed the sole command of the naval forces, the possession of all the spoil that might be acquired, indemnification for all expenses ; 8000 men for service on its ships, and a maintenance of an army of 50,000 horse and 20,000 foot on the Hungarian frontier. The Pope could not conceal his anger at the conduct of this great power, which might have been expected to take the foremost place in the enterprise. "You demand impossibilities," he is said to have exclaimed. "Your Republic has, indeed, degenerated. Once it prepared a magnificent fleet for the defence of the Faith, and now it cannot furnish a single ship. You have fought well for your allies and subjects against the Pisans and Genoese, against Emperor and King ; and now, when you ought to fight for Christ against the Infidels, you want to be paid. If arms were given to you, you would not take them. You only raise one difficulty after another in order to prevent the war, but if you succeed, you will be the first to suffer."† All was in vain ; the Venetian Envoys remained inflexible.‡

* From fear that the Turks might seize the trading vessels of the Florentines in the Levant, the Envoys were expressly desired to treat with the Pope "secretamente et in luogo secreto." Instruction of the 26th Sept. 1459 ; see also the *Instruction of the 1st Oct., 1459, State Archives, Florence, X., 1, 53.

† Pii II. Comment. 85 ; Cugnoni, 197 ; Campanus, 980. See Makuscev, II., 228. The **Letters of the 3rd, 11th, and 27th Oct., 1459, are characteristic of the attitude of the Venetians. Sen. Secr. XX., f. 191–4, State Archives, Venice. See also the *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Mantua, 1459, Nov. 29, Ambrosian Library.

‡ In the middle of January 1460, G. Lolli came as Papal Legate to Venice in order to induce the Republic to take part in the

The representatives of the Polish monarch afforded little satisfaction to the Pope; a profusion of words took the place of actual offers of assistance, and all his concessions failed to bring about a better state of feeling.*

The results as yet obtained were small enough, but those who surrounded the Pope deemed them sufficient to justify a return to Rome, for Pius II. could not consider his task accomplished while many Envoys and Princes from France as well as from Germany were still expected.†

The Duke of Milan bade farewell to the Pope on the 2nd of October. He was, as he informed his wife, so busy during his last days at Mantua that he had scarcely time to eat. He left the city on the 3rd of the month.‡

At length, before the end of the month, the representatives of Duke Louis of Savoy arrived. Notwithstanding all the Pope's exhortations, this Prince, whose sympathies were French, had delayed so long that the consultations

Turkish war, but he gained little or nothing. Further details of the negotiations are to be found in *Sen. Secr. XX., f. 204 *seq.*, State Archives, Venice.

* CARO, V., 1, 174 *seq.*, 190. Schivenoglia's statement, 142, that the Polish Ambassador did not enter Mantua till the 18th Nov. must be incorrect, as his discourse is dated the 14th of that month in Cod. Epist. 193.

† See *Despatch of the Sienese Ambassadors of Oct. 1st, 1459, State Archives, Siena. On the 3rd Oct., 1459, Pius II. writes to Stephano duci Bossinae: *"Nos cum Dei auxilio et gratia foeliciter tenemus hanc Mantuanam dietam in qua plures ex christianis principibus personaliter venerunt et plurimos venturos speramus. Oratores vero omnium fere nationum adsunt." Plut. LXXXX. Cod. 138, N. 35 of the Laurentian Library, Florence.

‡ Il duca di Milano parti mercoledi a di iii. di questo et hore xvi. Despatch of the Sienese Envoys, dated Mantua, 1459, Oct. 5. Schivenoglia is wrong in saying the 4th of October. See in Appendix N. 28, 32 and 33, Sforza's *Letters of Sept. 29 and Oct. 1 and 2, 1459, State Archives, Milan.

with the Italian Envoys had already been concluded.* On the 19th October, when at last the Envoys appeared, Pius II. received them in a public Consistory, and in his address expressed his dissatisfaction in severe terms, almost amounting to a reprimand.† In the afternoon he left Mantua to pay a visit to the Church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie. This venerable sanctuary lies on the other side of the lake, five miles to the west of the City. He spent four days in the adjacent convent; on the Sunday he said Mass in the Chapel of the Miraculous Picture, and granted an Indulgence to all the faithful who should visit the church and receive Holy Communion there on the first Sunday of October.‡

On his return to Mantua, where his absence had been kept secret, Pius II. encountered fresh mortifications. The first German Embassy that appeared was that of the Archduke Albert of Austria, and its mouthpiece was Gregor Heimburg, who, with his wonted coarseness, laid

* SCHIVENOGLIA, 141, says that the Envoys of Savoy arrived on the 9th Oct.; but the incorrectness of this statement is shewn by a **Brief of the 10th Oct. to the Bishop of Turin, Lib. brev. 9, f. 84. See in Appendix N. 12, 20, and 30, the *Briefs to the Duke, of the 1st June, 6th Aug., and 30th Sept., 1459, Secret Archives of the Vatican. I found a fourth *Brief of the same description of the 3rd Sept. in the Codex of the Laurentian Library, Florence, mentioned in p. 86, note †.

† "El papa ieri mattina fe concistoro publico per la venuta di mi ambasciatori del duca di Savoia, quali anno facto grandissime offerte publice." Despatch of the Sienese Envoys, dated Mantua, 1459, Oct. 20, State Archives, Siena. The speech of Pius II. is in MANSI, II., 204–5.

‡ See PELLEGRETTI, Madonna delle Grazie, 39 *seq.*, 54, 64.; WADDING, XIII., 151. Schivenoglia, 141, wrongly gives the 22nd Oct. as the date of Pius II.'s departure; the 19th of Oct. is also named in the Despatch of the Sienese Envoys cited in the above note from the State Archives, Siena.

himself out to annoy and insult the Pope. At the audience accorded to him on the 29th October, he did not even uncover his head, and the tone of his speech was sneering and contemptuous. On two other occasions Heimburg spoke in the Pope's presence, once in the name of Duke William of Saxony, and again in that of Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol, who, himself, came in person on the 10th November. In the last of these discourses he had the insolence to remind Pius II. of the love-letters which, as Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, he had composed for the youthful Sigismund.*

The appearance of the Tyrolese Duke in Mantua was not due to the Turkish question, but merely to a private dispute with Cardinal Cusa, who had already betaken himself to the Pope.†

The Envoys from France and Germany, who appeared in the latter part of November, displayed no more zeal than their predecessors. The fact that the representatives of these great powers, who ought to have been the first to answer the Pope's summons, did not come until the end of the Congress was in itself sufficiently strange. It would have been well if even then they had manifested some goodwill towards the great cause which filled the soul of the Pope.

The dislike of Charles VII. of France, to the Crusade, was evinced by the efforts made by his Envoys in Venice to

* VOIGT, III., 77–8, 100–101; here are particulars concerning the discourses of Heimburg which are preserved in Cod. 522 of the State Library at Munich. The account given by BROCKHAUS, 141 *seq.* is very unsatisfactory. See also Denkschr. der Wiener Akad., IX., 277 *seq.*; JÄGER, I., 331 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, 30 *seq.*

† SCHIVENGOLIA, 142, is mistaken in giving the 24th October as the day of Cusa's arrival; see Pius II.'s Brief of the 6th October in JÄGER, I., 330–1.

dissuade the Republic from taking part in it.* In Mantua they pursued the same course. On the 14th November they reached the city simultaneously with the Envoys of King René and of the Duke of Brittany.†

Soon afterwards came the Margrave Charles of Baden, and the Bishops of Eichstätt and Trent.‡ In the first audience granted to the French on the 21st November, they did homage, and everything passed quietly. Pius II. in the discourse which he addressed to them insisted on the plenitude of the Papal power. No one, he said, was to imagine that the authority of Councils could limit the power which God Himself had established in the throne of St. Peter. To oppose to it the opinions of any body of men, however learned, was wholly inadmissible, and had been condemned by the Council of Florence. All Catholic Princes are subject to the Roman Church.§

* See Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, III., 184 *seq.* (1841), and DANSIN, Hist. de Charles VII., 409 *seq.* From the *Report of the Sienese Ambassadors, dated Mantua, 1459, October 5 (State Archives, Siena), it is evident that Pius II. at once perceived the real import of the French Embassy to Venice. Charles VII. exerted his influence in Genoa for the same purpose; see Giornale Ligustico di arch. storia dir. da Belgrano e Neri, III., 132 *seq.* (1876).

† PII II. Comment. 85 *seq.*; JEAN DE REILHAC, I., 78 *seq.*; MATTHIEU D'ESCOUCHY, II., 393–4. Letter of Jean de Chambes in Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, III., 195 (1841). Report of Nicolas Petit in D'ACHERY, III., 806 *seq.*, and the Rélation de l'ambassade envoyée par Charles VII. à Mantoue, published by M. DE BEAUCOURT in L'Annuaire Bulletin de la Soc. d'Hist. de France, II. (Paris, 1864), where is the correct date of the entry of the Ambassadors, which VOIGT, III., 81, erroneously assigns to the 16th November. See also MAGENTA, I., 436.

‡ According to SCHIVENOGLIA, 142, the Margrave of Baden and the Bishop of Trent rode into Mantua on the 17th November with three hundred and forty horses.

§ MANSI, II., 31–7. See the authorities cited in note*, and VOIGT, III., 83.

The deliberations on the Neapolitan affairs demanded by the Envoys took place on the 30th November.* Those of King René and of the Genoese were present, also the Margrave of Baden, not, however, in his character of Imperial Ambassador. The Dukes of Brittany and Savoy were represented, but no one appeared on behalf of Burgundy or of Venice. Sigismund of the Tyrol did not take part in the audience. To the great regret of the Pope he suddenly left Mantua just before it, without having settled his dispute with Cusa. The spokesman of the French Embassy began by an enthusiastic eulogy of the "nation of the Lily" and its King, whose right to Naples he sought to establish, and then bitterly attacked the Pope's Italian policy. Ferrante's investiture was a wrong to the Royal House of France, and the refusal to allow Piccinino to pass through the Papal States an act of injustice. Finally, he demanded that Pius II. should cancel all that he had done in Ferrante's favour, and confer Naples on King René. The Pope, who listened with much patience to the discourse, answered in a few words. Hitherto, he informed them, in dealing with questions of this kind he had always acted in conjunction with the Sacred College, and from this practice he did not mean to depart. At the same time he requested the French to present their claims in writing, as was usual at the Papal Court.

On the following day Pius II. received the representatives of the Emperor and the other German powers, and at a later hour those of the Duke of Brittany; the latter were especially praised, because their master had

* Pii II. Comment. 87; Voigt, III., 84 *seq.*; see the interesting * Despatch of the Sienese Envoys of the 1st December 1459 (State Archives, Siena), and that of O. de Carretto of the same day (Ambrosian Library); see Appendix N. 35.

repudiated the Pragmatic Sanction, and adhered faithfully to the Holy See.* After this the Pope sent word that he was ill.

The French now gave in their proposals in writing.† The speech in which Pius II. replied is a master-piece of its kind.‡ He would not deny, he said, at the beginning of a discourse which took three hours to deliver, that he was a sinner, but he had yet to be convinced that he had done any injustice to France. France had done much for the Church, but the Church had also done much for France. They required impossibilities. He could not remove the Archbishop of Genoa without transgressing the Canon Law, according to which bishops might not be translated against their will without trial. What had been done in Naples was in accordance with reason and justice. Going back to the past, he urged, in defence of the changeable policy of his predecessors, the necessities of the times, and justified his own action by the force of circumstances. It was not he who had excluded the French from Lower Italy; he had found them already shut out. The Aragonese claimant had been acknowledged by the Barons at Capua; not a single voice was then raised in favour of René. The chief powers of

* See the *Despatches of the Sienese Envoys and of the Milanese Orator of the 1st Dec., 1459. Regarding the audience of the Envoys of the Duke of Brittany, See VOIGT, III., 89.

† *Propositiones legatorum regis Franciae factae in conventu coram S.D.N. Pio II., 1459. Cod. 215, f. 73 *seq.*, State Library, Munich.

‡ Such is the opinion of VOIGT, III., 85. The discourse is printed in MANSI, II., 40–72, and D'ACHERY, III., 811–20, and was disseminated in many MS. copies, even as far as Sicily. According to information kindly furnished by Prof. Gaetano Millunzio, there is one to be found at Monreale in Sicily, in a Codex left by Auxias Despuig de Podio, Archbishop of Monreale, 1458–83, a Prelate whose sympathies were with Aragon; see PIRRO, Sicilia Sacra, I., 404–5.

Italy, Venice, Milan and Florence begged us to grant investiture to Ferrante; had we refused them, the Church was threatened with a dangerous war. We could only have supported the Duke of Calabria if he had been on the spot, and as powerful as his rival. Therefore, in consideration of the danger to the States of the Church, and in view of the most necessary war with the Turks, we determined to grant investiture to Ferrante; his coronation was a necessary consequence of this step which we were compelled to take. The Pope further maintained, that he had never injured King René, but had been repeatedly injured and deceived by him; above all he had been greatly distressed by the despatch of a fleet against Naples during this very Congress, and the consequent disturbance of the peace of Italy.

It was impossible to cancel all that had been granted to Ferrante in favour of René without giving the former a hearing. The Pope had not deprived René of anything, or even denied his right to the throne. How could he now dispossess Ferrante until his cause had been heard? If a legal decision were desired, the sword must be sheathed. He would be a just judge.

In regard to the other demand of a free passage through the States of the Church for Piccinino, Pius II. insisted on the untrustworthiness of the promises given by such mercenary chiefs. He solemnly declared it to be the duty of Christians, in presence of the danger threatened by the Turks, to preserve peace among themselves. On no condition would he permit the Neapolitan difference to be settled by war. If an appeal to arms were resorted to in this case there was reason to fear that the whole of Italy might become involved. This was the ardent desire of the Turks. But it was the duty of the French, formerly such powerful champions of the Catholic

Faith, now to help in attacking the enemy. The French Monarch, called by universal consent the Most Christian King, had a great task before him, and the Pope awaited suitable proposals from his Ambassadors.

At the conclusion of his discourse, the Pope spoke of his desire that the French nation should be blameless. This, however, could not be the case until the stain of the Pragmatic Sanction was effaced. By this measure the authority of the Holy See was impaired, the power of religion weakened, the Church robbed of her freedom and universality. Laymen were constituted judges of the clergy. The Bishop of Rome, whose cure extends over the whole world, and is not bounded by any ocean, is only allowed in France such jurisdiction as it pleases the Parliament to grant him. "If we let this continue," said the Pontiff, "we destroy the liberty and unity of the Church, and turn her into a many-headed monster. The King has not indeed perceived this; it must be pointed out to him, that he may abandon this course, and really merit the name of Most Christian."*

The French Envoys in a private audience made a feeble reply. Their chief endeavour was to justify the action of their King in regard to the Pragmatic Sanction; they again recommended their petitions to the consideration of the Holy Father.†

The audiences of the representatives of King René and the Duke of Calabria gave rise to somewhat stormy encounters. The former desired to issue a protest against the adverse attitude of the Pope in regard to the investiture, and Pius II. threatened, if they adopted this course, to proceed against them as heretics. "But the

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 114–18; VOIGT, III., 86–8; see DANSIN, 257.

† VOIGT, III., 88; HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 118–19.

full vials of his wrath were poured out upon the Envoys of the Duke of Calabria, who had carried off the fleet destined to attack the Turks from Marseilles, and begun the disturbances in Italy. The Pope received them with angry looks, and would hardly listen to their address."*

The real object of the Congress was thus thrust into the background by the Neapolitan question. When Pius II. again insisted upon it, and plainly asked the French Envoys what assistance their King meant to give, they answered that it was useless to discuss this matter so long as the war between France and England continued. When the Pope expressed his intention of summoning an assembly to arrange these differences, they replied that the initiative must rest with their King. They also declined to furnish even a small body of troops. The representatives of Genoa and of King René spoke, as was to be expected, in the same sense. Envoys at last arrived from England, "but they came rather with a view of finding some remedy for the unhappy condition of their country than with the intention of doing anything for the cause of Christendom."†

* VOIGT, III., 89–90; in the letter of September 29th, 1460, King René to the Count Palatine of the Rhine, says in regard to Pius II. * "Oratores insuper illustris precarissimi filii nostri Calabrie vel Lotharingie ducis viros graves ad se transmissos ore et facie turbida vix in sua relacione audire voluit, eisque diversimode et quod de rege alio iam providerat comminatus fuit." Court Library at Vienna.

† PII II. Comment. 88; ZINKEISEN, II., 266 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 91. Regarding Genoa, see VIGNA, I., 16 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*; III., 2, 465 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 527; and A. NERI, Di Gottardo Stella, specialmente della sua legazione al concilio di Mantova nel 1459; Giornale Ligustico, III., 125–39 (*cf.* A. NERI, Scritti di storia patria, Genova, 1876). It is much to be wished that the *Instruction for the Genoese Envoys preserved in the Archives of Genoa (Instruct. 1) were also printed. Pius II. sent the Bishop of Terni (Interamnensis, not Teramo, as BROWN in the Cal. of State Papers, 89–92, and in the document we

Notwithstanding his frequent disappointments, the Pope still cherished some hope of better success with the Germans. But here also disunion reigned supreme. "The representatives of the Emperor could not come to an agreement with those of the Electors and Princes, nor the latter with each other or with the Envoys of the cities."*

These dissensions were zealously fomented by Gregor Heimburg. With a mind soured by disappointment, and steeped in the ideas of the Council of Basle, he raged equally against both Pope and Emperor. Pius II., therefore, must have greatly rejoiced when, on the 19th of December, the Germans came to an agreement with each other, which had at least a show of sincerity, although in reality the strife was merely postponed.† The contingent of 32,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, formerly promised to Nicholas V., was granted. The details were to be arranged with the Apostolic Legates in two diets, one of which was to be held in Nuremberg and the other in Austria, in order to settle the dispute between the Emperor and Hungary.

shall cite, reads it), Francesco Coppini, as Nuncio to England; see THEINER, Mon. Hibern., 423. This man made so bad a use of his ecclesiastical and diplomatic position that Pius II. disavowed him, and caused him to be confined in a monastery. See PAULI, Gesch. von England, V., 343; VOIGT, III., 190; Calendar of State Papers, "Venice," I., 89 *seq.*; and BROWN, L'Archivio di Venezia, V., 172–3 (1865).

* DROYSEN, II., i. 156; VOIGT, III., 92.

† VOIGT, III., 97. With regard to the agreement between the Emperor and the Pope as to the division of the money contributed for the war, VOIGT observes (94–5), that although there is the greatest probability in its favour, circumstances make it impossible to produce documentary proof of it. See also GEBHARDT, 32 *seq.* According to GOTTLOB, Camera Ap., part 3 shows that in the 15th century the tithes and indulgence-alms were in most cases divided.

On the following day letters of invitation were sent to all the Princes and States of the Empire. The Pope, in the most pressing terms, urged them to appoint Envoys with full powers. The diet at Nuremberg was to be held on *Invocavit* Sunday, 2nd March, and that at the Emperor's Court on *Judica* Sunday, 30th March.* Similar summonses were issued on the 21st January 1460, in the name of Frederick III.†

The thorny post of German Legate was confided to Cardinal Bessarion.‡ The Emperor, by a Bull of the

* The form of the Brief issued on the 20th December is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 72 (see VOIGT, III., 98, 219). The Archives of the German cities contain many such documents, *e.g.*, Breslau (see Script. Rer. Sil., viii., 36), Frankfort (see JANSSEN, II., 142), and Cologne. In the copy in the Archives of Cologne some variations occur, as *opportuna* for optima, and *conveniat* for oporteat.

† Letter to Frankfort in JANSSEN, II., 142 (where the date is wrongly stated as the 18th instead of the 21st January), on the same day to the Burgomaster and Council of Cologne in the Archives of that city (Kaiserschreiben); to the Confederates in TSCHUDY, Chronic, Helvet., II., 594–5. These are in German. That to the city of Lucca, dated Vienna, 1460, January 21st, is in Latin. "If the time is too short, they might send their Envoys to the second Diet" (State Archives, Lucca). Lett. orig. 444 (honorabil. et prudent. gubernatoribus et consulibus civitatis Lucan. nostris et imperii sacri fidelibus dilectis). Similar letters from the Emperor to Florence (State Archives, Florence, X., 2–23, f. 89) and to the city of Pavia in the Fonds Ital., 1588, f. 288, National Library, Paris.

‡ The Bull of the 15th January, 1460, is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 18, and in part in *Regest. 475, f. 49. A complete copy also exists in the city Archives of Frankfort-on-Main, R. T. A., IV., f. 21–23, attached to which are fol. 24 the Beslosse des tags zu M. The whole in form of a pamphlet. The nomination of Bessarion took place on the 2nd January in a Secret Consistory. *Report of the Sienese Envoys of this day, State Archives, Siena. Register 474, f. 283 *seq.* Numerous Faculties for Bessarion, dated Mantuae, 1459, (st. fl.), prid. Id., Jan. A° 2°, are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

12th January, 1460, was appointed commander of the German Crusading army, and if unable personally to take part in the expedition, he was empowered to appoint a German Prince to take his place.*

The Pope made it very evident that he wished this post conferred on the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, who, to his great joy, had arrived in Mantua at the end of 1459.† Pius II. had always had great confidence in the military capacity of this Prince, and now showered praises and presents upon him. The German "Achilles" saw his opportunity, and while flattering to the utmost the fancies of the Pope, sedulously applied himself to obtaining Bulls from him curtailing the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg, and enabling him to gain a firmer footing in Franconia.‡

On the 14th January, special Collects composed for the occasion were introduced in the High Mass celebrated by the Pope.§ At its conclusion the Bull ordaining a

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 20. Other copies are noticed by Lichnowsky-Birk, Reg., N. 303.

† SCHIVENOGLIA, 143. In August and September Pius II. had most urgently invited Albert, and he had promised to come; see in Appendix N. 21, 26, and 29, the Briefs of the 13th August, and 9th and 30th September. Secret Archives of the Vatican and Laurentian Library.

‡ VOIGT, III., 105; HOFMANN, Barbara, 15; DROYSEN, II., 1, 157; KLUCKHOHN, 133; MÜNTZ, I., 310. Regarding the honourable reception of the Margrave of Brandenburg by Pius II., see the *Report of Leodrisio Crivelli to the Duke of Milan, dated Mantua, 6th January, 1459 (1460), Fonds Ital., 1588, f. 219, National Library, Paris.

§ The Preces habitae a Pio II. in Missa solemni Mantuae, xiv. Januarii, 1460, in Plut. LXXXIX. Sup. 16, f. 140a-b of the Laurentian Library are not unpublished as VOIGT, III., 106, supposes, but are identical with those given by MANSI, II., 84–6, and are evidently the Versiculi alluded to in the Comment. 93. The date (14th Jan.) assigned in this MS. to the close of the Congress has more probability to support it

three years' crusade against the Turks was published. It was decreed that on every Sunday during Holy Mass the Divine assistance should be invoked for the Christian arms. A Plenary Indulgence was granted to every one who, for the space of eight months, should personally take part in the expedition. The same Indulgence was granted to all convents and religious communities which should maintain for eight months, at their own expense, one soldier for every ten of their members.*

The necessary Decrees for obtaining the pecuniary resources required for the Holy War were issued simultaneously with this Bull. The Holy See "itself led the way with a good example." † The whole Papal Court, that is to say, all officials paid by the Holy See and out of the Papal treasury, were required, like the rest of the clergy, to contribute a tithe of their income. The laity, especially those in Italy, were to pay a thirtieth, and the Jews a twentieth part.‡ Col-

than that adopted by Voigt *loc. cit.* (19th Jan.), for Cardinals Colonna and Orsini left Mantua on the 16th ; see SCHIVENOGLIA, 143–4.

* Bull "Ecclesiam Christi," Reg. 474, f. 256b–259b. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 1–7, and THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 366–9. The Bull is frequently to be met with in MS , and there is a copy in the State Archives at Mantua. VOIGT, III., 106, remarks concerning this Bull : "All other Indulgences, with the sole exception of those granted to the visit to Roman churches, are declared by the Pope to be revoked, which was equivalent to telling the faithful who thought they had already purchased bliss that they must pay for it over again." It is lamentable that a serious student should betray such ignorance on a point which has been repeatedly explained. Apart from the fundamental errors of his statement (for according to the Catholic doctrine a remission of sins is not a synonym for bliss, nor beatitude a thing that can possibly be purchased), Indulgences already gained were in nowise affected by the Decree of Pius II.

† VOIGT, III., 107.

‡ Register 474, f. 333–5, Secret Archives of the Vatican. Bull

lectors were appointed in great numbers to gather in the money.*

In his farewell discourse Pius II. again summed up the results of the Assembly; he looked upon them as far from satisfactory, yet not altogether hopeless. He then closed the Congress with a solemn prayer: "Almighty, eternal God, who hast deigned to redeem the human race by the Precious Blood of Thy Beloved Son, and to raise the world which was sunk in darkness to the light of the Gospel, grant, we beseech Thee, that the Christian Princes and nations may so valiantly take up arms against the Turks and all the other enemies of the Cross, that they may be victorious, to the Glory of Thy Name."†

On the 19th January, 1460, the Pope left Mantua for Siena, his feeble health making a season of rest absolutely necessary after the labours and agitations of the Congress.‡

"Pugnantium contra Amalech hostem," dated Mantuae, 1459 (st. fl.) decimo nono Cal. Febr. A° 2°, (tithe from the clergy), f. 259b–260; "Si ecclesiasticos omnes," f. 262-3. "Prospicientes de summo apostolatus apice" (thirtieth part from the laity), XIX. Cal. Febr. A° 2°; see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 7 *seq.*

* Register 474, f. 310 *seq.*

† MANSI, Orat., II., 78–86.

‡ Acta Consist., f. 28b, Secret Archives of the Vatican; Istoria Bresc. 892; SCHIVENOGLIA, 144; WADDING, XIII., 152. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 261, wrongly places his departure on the 22nd, the *Cronica di Forli (Library of Prince Boncompagni, see *supra*, p. 56) on the 17th, and VOIGT, III., 109, on the 20th January. The greater part of the Pope's journey, which brought him through Revere, Bologna, Firenzuola, S. Pietro a Sieve, Florence, S. Casciano, and Poggibonsi, is described by the Protonotary Teodoro de Montefiore in his *Report to the Marchioness Barbara, dated Siena, 1460, Feb. 6th (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). He describes in detail the suffering state of Pius II., who arrived at Siena on the 31st January. The inscription still to be seen on the unfinished wall of the Cathedral of that city refers to this visit of

A short time before his departure, Pius II. had published an important Bull in defence of the monarchical constitution of the Church. It was directed against the custom of appealing from the Pope to a general Council, which was an outcome of the false teaching regarding the supremacy of Councils, and which still prevailed, notwithstanding the prohibition of Martin V. Under Calixtus III., the clergy of Rouen and the University of Paris appealed against the levy of the Turkish tithes. It was to be expected that such appeals, which had always been the war-cry of the opposition, would now be repeated in connection with a similar question.

Pius II. said that the continuation of this practice "must end in the complete degradation of the Papal authority and the dissolution of all ecclesiastical orders. It was in itself an absurdity to appeal to a non-existent judge, to a tribunal which, even if the decrees of the Council of Constance were literally carried out, would meet only once in ten years."* Accordingly,† with the

the Pope: "1459 (st. fl.) a di V di febraio PPA., P. II. vene in questa butiga."

* DÖLLINGER, II., 1, 350; HERGENRÖTHER, Staat und Kirche, 966 *seq.*; DE MAISTRE, Du Pape, 7 *seq.* (Louvain, 1821): BEETS, 81; WALTER, Kirchenrecht, p. 371, 14th edition; Katholik, I., 307 (1850); ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 223; Freib. Kirchenlexikon, I., 1158 *seq.*, 2nd ed. When RANKE, Deutsche Gesch., I., 234, remarks: "The respect gained by the Councils only induced the Pope to pronounce it damnable to appeal to a Council;" one might enquire, *ubi nexus?* In any case Ranke passes too lightly over the Bull whose "far-reaching import" is justly pointed out by Voigt.

† Bull "Execrabilis et pristinis temporibus." Bull. V., 149–50, in PII II. Comment. 91–2, with the date: XV. Cal. Febr. (= 18th January). VOIGT, III., 103, observes that Raynaldus, ad an. 1460, N. 10, gives us to understand, on the authority of the Vatican Register, that the Bull was not published till the 23rd January. This date is disproved by the fact that Pius II. left Mantua on the 20th January

consent of the Cardinals, he renewed for the future, under pain of excommunication, the prohibitions of previous Popes and denounced all such appeals as had already been made.

(19th ; see *supra*, p. 99), and even in the Bull "Infructuosos palmites" in Raynaldus, *ibid.* N. 35, the 19th January is mentioned by the Pope as the day of the publication of the Bull "Execrabilis." On reference to the Register cited by Raynaldus, I found that in X. Register, 475, f. 198–198b, decimo Cal. April. originally stood as the date of the Bull "Execrabilis," and had been altered into sextodecimo Cal. Febr. The *Register, 502, f. 280, has Dat. Mantuae, 1459, decimo Cal. April., A° 2°, and above the Bull in more recent ink : XXIX. April. (Secret Archives of the Vatican). The copy of the Bull in the Archives of Brixen has Mantuae, XV. Cal. Febr., 1459 (JÄGER makes a gross mistake in the "Œsterreich. Archiv., IV., 316, by referring the Bull to the year 1459, and then calmly marks the following Register : "Pius II. invites Duke Sigismund to Mantua"). A copy in the State Archives, Dresden, loc. 7384, f. 200, bears the same date as that at Brixen. In the Indiculus Bull. Ord. Seraph., ed. Fr. Petrus de Alva et Astorga, II., 42 (Romæ, 1655), the Bull "Execrabilis" is dated the "XVI. Cal. Febr."

CHAPTER III.

The contest for the Neapolitan Throne and its reaction on the States of the Church. The Republican movement in Rome, 1460–61. Favour shewn to the Piccolomini and the Sienese. Humiliation of the Savelli and Malatesta.

While Pius II. was seeking to unite the Christian Princes against Islam, the dispute in Italy between the houses of Anjou and Aragon had broken out into open war. King Charles VII. of France espoused the Angevine party, and made over to King René for the expedition against Ferrante of Naples, the twenty-four galleys which Cardinal Alain had collected for the Turkish war.* In the beginning of October 1459, René's son, Duke John of Calabria, appeared before Naples with these ships. His hope that an insurrection would break out against the King, who was absent in Calabria, was disappointed. Accordingly he sailed back and landed at the mouth of

* Pii II. Comment. 94; Simoneta, 696–9; Chronica di Bologna, 732; see the Brief of Pius II. to Carvajal in Raynaldus, ad an. 1459, N. 78, and that to *E. Barbaro, Bishop of Verona, dated Senis, 4 Junii, A° 2°. The Holy See here complains, "non vident quid de triremibus illis sit factum que per dil. filium nostrum Card. Avinion. apost. sedis legatum in portibus Gallicanis pro subventione fidei sunt fabricate: sine ulla licentia, sine indulto apost. sedis armate sunt contra Christianos et per hec nostra maria quottidie volitant. Cruciate illa fuit pecunia in obsequium Dei, in opus fidei, in subventionem Christifidelium, non oppressionem proximorum collecta." Lib. brev. 9, f. 114b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Volturno.* This was the signal for a general rising against Ferrante under the leadership of the ancient Angevine party and the most powerful of the feudal lords, and the cause of the house of Aragon seemed lost.

Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, strenuously opposed the pretensions of the Angevines. Clearly perceiving that the success of the French in Italy, and their establishment in Naples, must destroy the political independence of the Peninsula, he induced the Pope to take Ferrante's part. Florence and Venice professed neutrality ;† on the other hand, the Condottiere, Jacopo Piccinino, managed to elude the Papal Legate and Federigo of Urbino, and march southwards along the coast to assist the insurgents.

Military operations began in the spring of 1460. The Milanese forces were commanded by Alessandro, Francesco's brother, and the Papal troops by Simonetto. When the Duke of Calabria approached the city of Nola, Ferrante, with the army of the Pope, advanced to meet him. On

* Giornali Napolit., 1133; SIMONETA, 699–700; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 260; CAGNOLA, 147. The authorities and works concerning the Neapolitan war are enumerated by VOIGT, III., 133 *seq.*, where, however, the work of P. MAZIO, La guerra di Ferdinando d'Aragona e di Renato d'Anjou (published in Saggiatore, I., 177 *seq.*)—important on account of its extracts from the Gaetani Archives, Rome—is omitted. Mazio has, however, by no means exhausted the treasures of these private Archives. In the Index of MSS. I found a great many other documents concerning the Neapolitan war mentioned ; see also CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, 128 *seq.* (Roma, 1870). LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 289 *seq.*, also brings forward some new documents; the picture here given is certainly very one-sided, II., 433 *seq.*, the compiler furnishes valuable extracts from a Chronica di Napoli in the Brancacciana Library at Naples, 2 G. 11. Regarding G. Pontano as the historian of this war, see the article in Rivist. Univers., 1874, Ottob., 529 *seq.*

† See *supra*, p. 75; BUSER, Beziehungen, 94–5.

the 7th July the Neapolitan king having rashly attacked the enemy, who was encamped in the little town of Sarno, a few miles from the capital, was completely defeated. His troops were for the most part taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with but twenty horsemen to Naples. Almost all the chiefs, and most of the cities of the Campagna, with the exception of Naples, joined the Angevine party.*

Had the enemies of Ferrante been more united among themselves, and more energetic, the consequences of the victory at Sarno might have been far more serious than they were. As it was, the King, who was powerfully supported by Milan, found time to recover his strength.

At the end of July a sharp encounter also took place in the north. On the 22nd of the month, at San Fabiano, not far from Ascoli, Piccinino attacked the army commanded by Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino, and a sharp engagement ensued. Neither side could claim the victory, but eventually Alessandro and Federigo were obliged to retreat.†

Pius II., who had been at the baths of Macerata and

* SIMONETA, 710–13; PII II. Comment. 104–5; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 62; NOTAR GIACOMO, 102; Cronica di Napoli in LECOY DE LA MARCHE, II., 434; two undated letters from Ferrante to Pius II. in SUMMONTE, III., 296–8. I found in the State Archives at Milan (Napoli e Sicilia, III.) the letter mentioned by Simoneta, similar to the first printed by Summonte, in which Ferrante informs Fr. Sforza of his defeat, dated Naples, 1460, July 7. Details of the encounter are also given in the *Letter of the Duke of Calabria to the Prince of Rossano, Marino da Marzano, written on the battlefield on the 7th July, and sent on the 9th by the Prince to Caterina Orsini. Both letters are in the Gaetani Archives, Rome. See also CARINCI, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 103, note*.

† Cronica di Bologna, 734; SIMONETA, 714 *seq.*; Chronic. Eugub., 997; CIPOLLA, 492, N. 3.

Petriolo to seek relief from his old enemy the gout,* was at Siena when he received the evil tidings. As early as May, King René had sent an unsuccessful embassy to induce the Pope, by threats of insurrection in Avignon and an appeal to a Council, to abandon the cause of Ferrante.† But the unfortunate issue of the battles at Sarno and San Fabiano so alarmed Pius II. that he began to waver. He seems even to have thought of "yielding to the pressure of the French and forsaking Ferrante." The representations of the Duke of Milan, who "had the most urgent interest in this war," and the concessions of Ferrante, held the Pope in this critical moment to his agreement.‡ Ferrante not only made over the little city of Castiglione della Pescaja, in Tuscany, and the island of Giglio to the Pope's nephew, Andrea, but also renounced his claim to Terracina. After the battle of Sarno, a party adverse to the French interest had there arisen which besought the protection of the Church. Pius II. upon this sent his nephew Antonio,

* See PORTIOLI, VI., 3, 9, 11, 15, 19, 20, according to the Acts of the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. (O. de Carretto, writing from Siena on the 5th April, 1460, to Francesco Sforza, says: "*La Sta. de N.S. sta. pur alquanto pegio de le sue gotte quale li danno grande noia" (Ambrosian Library). The sufferings of the Pope, and spring as the time for baths, are also mentioned in CARD. PAPIEN. Epist., f. 37b. See also HAESER, I., 748.

† See VOIGT, III., 143. See the **Brief to the Cardinal de Foix of the 24th May, 1460. Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 109.

‡ SIMONETA, 713–16; VOIGT, III., 114. On the *11th August, 1460, Pius II. begged the Duke of Milan to send troops quickly to Naples, and also promised himself to despatch further succour. (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 131b.) *Ibid.* a second urgent Brief *s. d.* (the previous Brief is dated Senis, 19th August, A° 2°) requires Fr. Sforza to support Ferrante.

who occupied this important city, which was the key of the Campagna. The King of Naples and Francesco Sforza were both equally dissatisfied with this proceeding, but they were compelled to submit if they wished to retain the alliance of Pius II.* The Pope won the goodwill of the inhabitants "by confirming their municipal constitution and other privileges, and acceding to their request that the Jews might be allowed to settle in their city, and enjoy its freedom and rights."†

Meanwhile the strife in Naples was reacting most injuriously on Rome. As long as Nicholas of Cusa, who had been appointed Papal Vicar-General, remained in the city, all was quiet, a fact acknowledged with commendation in many of the Pope's Briefs.‡ Soon after his departure, however, we hear of riots and outrages, and the citizens anxiously desired the return of the Pope.§ In a Brief of February 1st, 1460, Pius again alludes to disturbances in Rome, and charges the Senators of the city to repress these "daily recurring scandals."‖ Contem-

* Regarding Castiglione della Pescaja, which Alfonso of Aragon had taken from the Florentines in 1448, see SIMONETA, 727; THOMASIUS, 61; MARINI, II., 162; and the *Brief to King Ferrante of 15th April, 1460, Secret Archives of the Vatican, see Appendix N. 40. For the acquisition of Terracina, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 65; CONTATORE, 120. The determination with which Pius II. claimed Terracina appears from the *Despatches of Otto de Carretto, dated Sancto Quiricho, 17th September, 1460, and Rome, October 14th, 1460. State Archives, Milan.

† CONTATORE, 121–5; SUGENHEIM, 336.

‡ See in Appendix N. 15 the *Brief of June 9th, 1459. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Briefs of the 27th November, 1459, in the Laurentian Library, Florence, and of 30th January, 1460, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; see Appendix N. 34 and 36.

‖ * Brief of February 1st, 1460. Lib. brev. 9, f. 99, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

porary chroniclers inform us that two bands of lawless youths had formed themselves in Rome, who were perpetually at war with each other, and had ended by establishing a veritable reign of terror. Rape, plunder, and murder were the order of the day. The municipal authorities did little or nothing to restore order, hoping that the continuance of this state of anarchy would induce Pius II. to return. On the 30th March the Pope expressed to the Conservators his surprise that they could suffer these excesses to be perpetrated by the youth of the City; and informed them that if they expected by such means to force him to come back they were greatly mistaken. He might be moved by submission and obedience, but never by turbulence.† The situation soon became so critical, that the Governor withdrew from the Vatican, and asked for military assistance, which Pius II. at once granted.‡

In the month of May the troubles increased. It now appeared that the party of revolt in the city had warm supporters in the Savelli, the Colonna, and the Anguillara. "For these Barons again lifted their heads when the Neapolitan war broke out; they espoused the cause of Anjou, and entered into an alliance with Piccinino and Malatesta."§ Jacopo Savelli afforded a secure asylum to the Roman banditti in Palombara, at the foot of Monte Gennara. On the 16th May a young Roman, surnamed,

* N. DELLA TUCCIA, 261; PAOLO DELLA MASTRO, Cron. Rom., 26.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 69; VITALE, II., 441–2; LÜNIG, Codex Dipl. Ital., IV., 183.

‡ By a *Brief of 9th April, 1460. Four days later the Pope exhorts the Conservators to greater firmness. Both **Briefs are in Lib. brev. 9, f. 178 and 154b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 178, 3rd ed. In regard to the connection of the Colonna and Savelli with John of Calabria, see Saggiatore, I., 183.

on account of his amorous propensities, the Innamorato, carried away a maiden who was about to be married; he was arrested for this offence, and delivered to the Senate. His friends at Palombara at once hastened to rescue him. The band was headed by Tiburzio and Valeriano di Maso, two brothers, who belonged to a family of conspirators. Their father, brother-in-law to Stefano Porcaro, had, together with his elder brother, been executed as principal accomplices in Porcaro's plot. Tiburzio and Valeriano wished "to avenge these martyrs of liberty, to cast off the yoke of the priests, to restore the ancient Republic." They fortified themselves in the Pantheon, laid the surrounding quarter under contribution, and never rested until they had procured the liberation of the Innamorato.* As time went on, things got worse in the city, where the absence of the Pope, and his participation in the Neapolitan contest, caused great dissatisfaction. A new band was formed, and under the leadership of a certain Bonanno Specchio, committed all sorts of crimes. A tower near San Lorenzo in Lucina served as a hiding-place for these rebels, who when driven hence by the Pope's nephew, Antonio, fortified themselves in the Capranica Palace. Here they spent their days in revelry, and at night sallied forth to plunder. Tiburzio was their king.†

On hearing of these disorders, Pius II. seriously thought of returning to Rome. The city continued unquiet, even after Tiburzio, at the request of some of the nobles, had gone back to Palombara. Unarmed citizens were maltreated in the open streets, women and maidens outraged,

* INFESSURA, 1138 (here as well as in ECCARD, 1891, 1460 is to be substituted for 1459); PAOLO DELLA MASTRO, 26–7; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 263; PII II. Comment. 106–7; VOIGT, III., 147 *seq.* Regarding ANGELO DI MASO, see Vol. II., p. 224 *seq.*

† PII II. Comment. 107; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 179, 3rd ed.

and a convent situated near the city completely sacked. The Pope now saw that his presence was the only remedy, and he resolved to put an end to these disturbances.*

The beginning of September brought terrible tidings. Piccinino had burst into the Sabina, plundering and murdering as he went, and threatened, with the help of the Ghibelline Barons, to attack Rome.† Cardinal Colonna had great difficulty in keeping Tivoli quiet, where the Ghibelline party supported Piccinino, whose troops, harboured by Jacopo Savelli in Palombara, from thence ravaged the surrounding country. "Confusion and terror reigned in Rome. From the walls and heights of the city, burning castles and villages were to be seen, and it was expected that the enemy would soon enter its gates. The party of revolt within was in communication with the Condottiere. Everso of Anguillara had resumed his raids, and Malatesta openly espoused the cause of Anjou."‡

Meanwhile the Roman police arrested a certain Luca da Tozio, whose confessions "revealed the abyss of danger in all its depths to the Pope." In the castle of St. Angelo, without being subjected to torture, he declared that Piccinino had been invited into the Roman territory by the Prince of Tarento, Everso of Anguillara, Jacopo Savelli and the Colonna, and that Tiburzio and his band were to open

* Pii II. Comment. 107. See the **Briefs to the Governor and the Conservators of Rome, of the 26th and 31st August, 1460, Lib. brev. 9, f. 145b, Secret Archives of the Vatican, which shew that even at this time, before Piccinino's attack, the return of the Pope had been resolved upon. His departure from Siena took place on the 10th September. Thomasius, 61 ; Cronica di Bologna, 732.

† Simoneta, 716; Pii II. Comment. 110; Pontanus, Lib. I.; *Briefs of the 20th Sept. (Theanensi) and 21st Sept., 1460 (castellano S. Angeli). Secret Archives of the Vatican, Lib. brev. 9, f. 115b–116.

‡ Voigt, III., 149. Regarding Tivoli see Card. Papien. Epist., f. 37b.

the gates of Rome to the Condottiere, after which the city was to be plundered, and the Pope's nephew slain.*

Ill though he was, the Pope, on receiving these tidings, resolved to start as soon as possible. After having prepared the way for peace between the contending parties in Orvieto,† he set out and reached Viterbo on the 30th September. The Roman Envoys here awaited him and begged him to pardon the excesses of the Roman youths. "What city," the Pope is said to have replied, "is freer than Rome? You pay no taxes, you bear no burdens, you occupy the most honourable posts, you sell your wine and corn at the price you choose, and your houses bring you in rich rents. And, moreover, who is your ruler? Is he a Count, Marquess, Duke, King or Emperor? No! one greater than all these, the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. He it is who brings you glory and prosperity and attracts the wealth of the whole world to your gates."‡

On the 4th October, Pius II. started for Rome escorted by five hundred horsemen, sent at his urgent request by the Duke of Milan. On the 6th, to the great joy of the inhabi-

* Pii II. Comment. 108–9. The Pope alludes to this affair in the Brief to Card. Forteguerri, dated Rome, 1460, Oct. 19, where he says in relation to Savelli, "Sunt nobis et alia cognita, que litteris credenda non sunt." Laurentian Library, *loc. cit.*

† See Manente, Hist. d'Orvieto, II., 90 (Venezia, 1566); Fumi, Cod. 719, and Pio II. e la pace d'Orvieto, in the Studj e Doc. VI., 249 *seq.* from Documents in the Archives of Orvieto.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 113–14; N. della Tuccia, 81–2. Voigt, III., 150, looks upon the discourse as an oratorical fiction, while Gregorovius, VII., 180, 3rd ed., considers it to be genuine, and observes that the arguments are the same as in Cod. Vat. 3618 (see Vol. II. p. 235). Similar ideas occur in the *Commentary of V. Albergato, of which MSS. exist in the Archives, Vienna, and the Corsini Library, Rome. See my sketch in the Hist. Jahrb., III., 128.

tants, he entered the city.* He at once summoned the Conservators and chief citizens, and, in a discourse lasting two hours, put before them the necessity of resisting John of Calabria, Piccinino, and the other authors of agitation.†

The presence of the Pope produced a momentary calm, but the situation continued very perilous. In the middle of October a report was current to the effect that Piccinino was planning a last and decisive attack on Rome, and had secured the assistance of the Neapolitan Insurgents.‡ In the same month Tiburzio destroyed himself by an act of foolhardiness. Bonanno Specchio, venturing into the city on the 29th October, fell into the hands of the police. Tiburzio immediately hastened from Palombara with fifteen companions, and called upon the Roman populace to rise. "It is too late," was the reply. The agitators were as little prepared for this want of sympathy, as for the energetic opposition offered by the friends of order and the Papal soldiers. They sought safety in flight; a certain number succeeded in escaping, but Tiburzio was captured, together with five of his associates. On the scaffold he acknowledged that he had intended, with the help of the Ghibelline Barons and of Piccinino, to overthrow the Government of the

* SIMONETA, 717–18; PII II. Comment. 115–16; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 82 and 263. INFESSURA, 1136, wrongly gives the 5th October as the day of his arrival (see VOIGT, III., 151), and L'ÉPINOIS, 32, the 7th. The latter mistake is due to the fact that the Pope returned on that day to the Vatican. To this circumstance Card. Scarampo, in a *Letter to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1460, Oct. 8, refers when he says the Pope came back yesterday, "cum grandissima letitia universalmente da tucto el popolo Romano." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 263; PII II. Comment. 121–24.

‡ *Despatch of Otto de Carretto and Augustinus de Rubeis, ex urbe die 14 Octobris, 1460. State Archives, Milan.

Pope, and to plunder the rich merchants and Cardinals. Soothsayers had persuaded him that the power of the priests was to be overthrown that year; he did not ask for mercy, only for a speedy death. His companions expressed similar sentiments. The Pope forbade them to be tortured; but on the last day of October, Tiburzio, Bonanno Specchio, and six others, were hanged in the Capitol.* "If in Porcaro the democratic movement had already degenerated to the level of Catiline, in Tiburzio and Valeriano, the heroes of 1460, it had sunk to that of mere brigandage."†

The position of Pius II., threatened as he was by Piccinino, was so precarious that he offered on fair conditions to make peace with Jacopo Savelli.‡ Early in December a reconciliation with this "most audacious opponent" of the temporal power of the Pope seemed actually effected;§ but Piccinino again advanced with

* INFESSURA, 1139 (where again 1460 is to be substituted for 1459); N. D. TUCCIA, 264; Chronic. Eugub., 998 *seq.*; RAPH. VOLATERRANUS, Comm. 253; PII II. Comment. 117–20; *Cronica di Forli, f. 269b (Cod. 234, Library of Prince Boncompagni, Rome); and the *Despatch of Antonio Ricao of the 6th Nov., 1460. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, see Appendix N. 41.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 177, 3rd ed. "Bandum pro quiete urbis" of the 2nd Nov., 1460; see THEINER, Cod. II., 415–16.

‡ Brief of 19th Nov., 1460. PII Epist., Mediol., 18th edit. In RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 70 and 71, are letters from the Pope to Milan and Florence, asking for assistance. The threatening attitude of Piccinino is mentioned in a despatch of "G. de Piccolominibus" to Siena, dated Rome, 1460, Nov. 25. State Archives, Siena.

§ "Jac°. Savello ha mandato a chiedere misericordia a la Sta di N. S. il quale e tanto clemente che e contento riceverlo et per tanto sono levate le offese infino a martedi proximo. Spero fra oggi o domane si concludara." G. de Piccolominibus to Siena, dated Rome, 1460, Dec. 6. State Archives, Siena.

his troops, whereupon Savelli broke off the negotiations.*

The misunderstandings between Alessandro Sforza and Federigo of Urbino, and the irritation of the former at the occupation of Terracina by the Pope, account for the fact that they did not pursue Piccinino "when he attacked the territory of the Church." In the end, however, by their efforts he was induced to retire to the Abruzzi for the winter.†

The French suffered a serious disaster in the spring of 1461. A revolution broke out in Genoa in the month of March; the French garrison was compelled to retire into the fortress, and was there besieged. Milan supported the revolutionists. King René, who himself came to the rescue, was completely defeated, and finally the fortress was taken.‡

This was a terrible blow to the Angevine party in the Kingdom of Naples. No decisive battle took place during the summer of 1461. Skanderbeg appeared in August, with between two and three thousand Albanians to support Ferrante in Apulia, but his undisciplined hordes only added to the general confusion.§

* Despatch of G. de Piccolominibus, dated Rome, 1460, Dec. 10.

† VOIGT, III., 153 *seq.* "*Infine aviso V. E. che tra li ill. signori Alexandro et Conte d'Urbino non e bona intelligentia, ma guerra et dissentione in modo che non saria possibile nisi aliter provideatur a fare cosa che ben fosse." O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1460, Nov. 15, third *Despatch of the same day, State Archives, Milan.

‡ BASIN-QUICHERAT, I., 307 *seq.*, IV., 361–2; VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, 436; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 327 *seq.*; VAESEN, Lettres de Louis XI., I., 354 *seq.* (Paris, 1883).

§ CIPOLLA, 493; PAGANEL, 264 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 158, makes Skanderbeg's expedition take place in July. This, however, is contradicted by the Despatches of Antonius Guidobonus, dated Venice, 1461, Aug. 12 and 25 *seq.* See MAKUSCEV, II., 156, and his work, Slaven, 101–3, where

The Pope meanwhile was labouring earnestly for the restoration of peace in his own immediate neighbourhood. Rome was full of fear and excitement; the Palaces of the Cardinals were fortified and occupied by armed men.* In March, 1461, eleven other members of Tiburzio's band, who had ventured from Palombara to Rome, were executed.† In May it was given out that the Pope intended to make a supreme effort to rid himself of Jacopo Savelli who, in his own immediate neighbourhood was constantly threatening him.‡ Great apprehensions were entertained that this attempt might prove a failure, but Federigo of Urbino fully justified his reputation for generalship. By the beginning of July the whole of the Sabina was subdued; Savelli, shut up in Palombara, was compelled to capitulate. On the 10th he threw himself at the feet of the Pope, who received him graciously, and in consideration of his connection with the Colonna, granted peace on moderate terms.§

however, the success of the Albanians is greatly exaggerated; as also by BARLETIUS in his well-known Biography of the Albanian Leader. G. Lolli, in a *Letter, dated Tivoli, Sept. 9, 1461, gives the number of the Albanians as 2000, State Archives, Siena.

* "* Qui se vive cum grande carestia et suspecto, non ce Cardinale chi non habia armata la famiglia et casa sua." Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, Feb. 23. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† N. DELLA TUCCIA, 265, and the Report of Fantinus de Valle in PALACKY, Beiträge, 243. See **Despatch of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, March 26. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ "* La impresa de Palombara pur se fara per quello se ne vede fin qui. E vero che ge sono pratiche assai de accordo, ma il papa ge malissimo disposto et dice vole batter tucti li altri baroni de Roma cum lo exempio de questo. Se la reusira bene, sera contra la commune opinione." *Despatch of B. Bonatio, dated Rome, 1461, May 6. Gonzaga Archives. See also PORTIOLI, 24–8.

§ PII II. Comment. 135; CUGNONI, 209 *seq.*; SIMONETA, 727;

Rome, however, still continued restless. If an ox was stolen, as Pius II. told the Milanese Envoys, the people were all in commotion.* At the end of July a plot to blow up the castle of St. Angelo was discovered. At the beginning of the following month, bearing arms within the City was severely punished.† A fresh outbreak of disturbance occurred when the Pope, who had been ill ever since the spring,‡ left Rome on the 21st July for Tivoli, to escape from the heat. The authorities had great difficulty in restoring order. The Envoy from Mantua relating these occurrences, expresses his fear that the Sicilian Vespers would be repeated in Rome. The citizens were utterly ungovernable. Mildness and severity were alike unavailing.§

During his summer sojourn at Tivoli the Pope was not inactive. Considering the defenceless state of this City,

Chronic. Eugub., 1001; PALMERIUS, 245. See the *Despatches of Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, July 5, 10, 14, and 17 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the *Report of O. de Carretto of the 11th July, 1461, in Appendix N. 49, State Archives, Milan.

* *Despatch of O. de Carretto and Augustinus de Rubeis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1461, May 21. State Archives, Milan.

† *Reports of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, July 3 and 5. See the Ambassador's **Despatches of June 29 and 30, 1461; also Appendix N. 47, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On the 28th January, 1461, Pius II. had published a decree against murder; see Bull. 156–8.

‡ See *Despatches of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, March 23 and April 3. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See **Report of B. Bonatto of July 22nd, 1461 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Several of the Cardinals had left the City before the Pope did. Cardinal L. J. de Mila, on the 21st June, writing "ex urbe," expresses his intention "hoc tempore Romanos confugere calores" to come to Siena. A follower of Tiburzio's was executed in the end of February, 1463. See *Despatch of J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1463, Feb. 26. Gonzaga Archives.

which commanded the passes, he ordered a citadel to be built, and he also reformed its Franciscan Convent.* Besides this he found time for scientific studies; he was then working at his description of Asia. He also frequently sought refreshment for mind and body by making excursions in the beautiful neighbourhood.

The peace of the States of the Church was at this time disturbed not only by the Neapolitan war, but also by the hostile attitude of Sigismondo Malatesta. The despot of Rimini is not only the most horrible figure in the history of the early Renaissance, but "one of the most detestable rulers of any age. Bold, skilful, and frequently successful, he united the characteristics of the fox and the wolf, which Machiavelli holds to be necessary for the establishment of a tyranny." He was withal a patron of learning and art, and himself a poet, philosopher, and scholar. But all this humanistic culture did not hinder Sigismondo from sinking to the lowest depths of moral depravity. There was no crime which this reckless heathen "had not committed, or at least was not deemed capable of committing. From jealousy or passion he murdered or put away two wives, and outside his own family circle his insatiable sensuality and cruelty drove him to commit the most horrible crimes."† His

* AMMANATI, Ep., f. 37b; WADDING, XIII., 201; VIOLA, III., 99 *seq.*; NIBBY, Viaggio antiq., I., 153; GORI, Viaggio antiquario di Roma a Tivoli, I., 17 (Roma, 1855); MANDALARI, P. Vitali, 16 (Roma, 1877).

† GEIGER, 212–13, and LÜTZOW, Zeitschr., XVIII., 3–4. See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 33, 271 (3rd ed.), II., 225, 327; JANITSCHEK, 31. The account given of Sigismondo by PONTANUS, De immanitate c. 17 (Opp. I., 322) is horrible: "filium suum Robertum cognoscere tentavit." Burckhardt *loc. cit.* attributes his crime not to mere depravity, but to astrological or magic superstition. The latest monograph regarding Sigismondo by YRIARTE (1882) is, indeed, a magnificent work, but leaves much to be desired in the way of historical accuracy. See

quarrel with Pius II. dated from the peace to which the Pope had constrained him at Mantua. Sigismondo took advantage of the invasion of the States of the Church by Piccinino to resume possession of the territory which he had then surrendered.* In November, 1460, Pius II. had invoked the assistance of the Duke of Milan against him, and had also commenced legal proceedings.†

On the 25th December he was excommunicated as a notorious criminal, and declared to have forfeited his dominions.‡

Heathen as he was, he merely mocked at the sentence, and jestingly asked whether excommunicated persons could still taste good wine and relish the pleasures of the table. The Pagan Humanism found a congenial soil in his depraved and defiant nature. He had already shewn his contempt for the ceremonies of the Church. It is said that on one occasion, as he was returning from a banquet, he caused the holy water stoup of a church to be filled with ink.§ The unchristian temper of his mind

JANITSCHEK, Repertorium, VII., 156 *seq.*; LÜTZOW, Zeitschr., XVIII., 1 *seq.* Yriarte's exploration of the Archives is very incomplete, or he could not have overlooked the most interesting letter of his "hero" which I found in the Milan Archives (see *infra*, p. 125).

* VOIGT, III., 127 *seq.*, 160.

† Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1460, November 4, State Archives, Milan. See the *Brief of the 25th November, 1460, to Cardinal Forteguerri, Laurentian Library.

‡ **Report of Carlo da Franzoni of the 26th December, 1460. See ** Despatch of G. Chigi, of Jan. 16, 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to the custom of the time caricatures of Malatesta were exhibited in the towns of the States of the Church. It is worthy of remark that this was not permitted in Bologna. Chronica di Bologna, 739, and *Brief of Pius II. of 9th October, 1461, State Archives, Bologna; see Appendix N. 50.

§ VOIGT, III., 123 *seq.*

was also exhibited in the extraordinary edifice to which his contemporaries gave the name of the "Temple of Malatesta."

All historians of art agree in saying that the Church of San Francesco, when rebuilt according to the plan of Leon Battista Alberti in the newly-revived Classical style, had far more resemblance to a heathen temple than to a Christian church. The only difference, as a witty observer puts it, is that it was destined, not for the worship of Juno, Venus, or Minerva, but for that of Sigismondo's mistress (afterwards his wife), the beautiful Isotta.*

The profane character of the "Temple of Malatesta" was strikingly manifested in the interior, which was adorned with royal magnificence. "In all the marble tablets lavishly spread over the walls, scarcely a single Christian symbol, or figure from any saintly legend, is to be seen." Of the numerous inscriptions but one has a doubtful reference to religion. The cross, the Christian symbol of victory, seems to be purposely avoided in the decoration. On the other hand "heathen allusions abound, and Isotta and Sigismondo appear as the presiding genii of the edifice, the divinities to be honoured in the temple." On the balustrades, friezes, arches, vaults, everywhere the interlaced letters I (sotta) and S (igismondo), together with the arms and emblems of Malatesta, are introduced. Some of the inscriptions deify the builder as the Jupiter

* MÜNTZ, Précurseurs, 87; BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaissance, 8; YRIARTE, 180–98; and the Reviews of this splendid work by C. von FABRICZY in the Allgem. Zeitung. 1883, Supplement No. 242–4, and by GEIGER in LÜTZOW, Zeitschr. für Kunst, XVIII., 1 *seq.* The foundations of San Francesco were laid, not in 1446, as Yriarte, Geiger, 7, and Lützow, 368, say, but in 1447; see Cronica di Rimini, 960, and TONINI, 210.

or the Apollo of Rimini.* Diana, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, even Venus arising from the sea,† together with almost all the other personages of the heathen Olympus, are portrayed in the Chapel of St. Jerome! The sarcophagus of Sigismondo, and the splendid monument of Isotta, which rests on two elephants, the armorial supporters of the Malatesta, are equally devoid of any Christian symbol. Isotta's monument, erected in her lifetime, has an inscription in which the title of Diva is bestowed upon her! Many of the sculptures are illustrations of a love-poem addressed by Sigismondo to Isotta.‡

Certainly such an edifice as this fully merited the condemnation of Pius II., who says in his Memoirs that San Francesco at Rimini appeared to be a temple for heathen rather than for Christian worship.§

The sympathies of the Duke of Milan were not altogether with the Pope's expedition against Malatesta, for he would rather have seen all forces directed to the Neapolitan war.‖ Pius II., however, was not to be deterred, and sent 5,000 men, under the command of Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, Archbishop of Corneto, against the tyrant. The two armies met at Nidastore in the Marches, on the

* YRIARTE, 196–8, 237–8, and the above-mentioned articles of Fabriczy and Geiger.

† See the illustrations in YRIARTE, 203, 216–17.

‡ See YRIARTE, 213 and 219. Here are given good representations of the tombs of Isotta (145) and Sigismondo (272). Yriarte gives proof that Isotta, whom the court poets celebrated as a model of purity, beauty, and culture, was utterly uneducated, and even unable to write.

§ PII II. Comment. 51.

‖ **Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1461, Jan. 3rd (Ambrosian Library). The feverish, excited preparations of Sigismondo are mentioned in the *Report of B. Bonatto to Lod. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, May 21. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

2nd July, 1461. Sigismondo fought like a "furious bear," and completely routed the Papal troops.*

The Venetians rejoiced at the issue of this conflict, and took the opportunity of accepting from Sigismondo a mortgage on Monte Marciano. The Pope remonstrated, but without effect, for it was the policy of the Signoria "gradually to acquire territory on the coast." Piccinino and the Prince of Tarento aided Sigismondo by sending him 16,000 ducats.†

The defeat at Nidastore greatly alarmed the Pope, but did not dishearten him. He commanded the Legate of the Marches to collect more troops, and took Napoleone Orsini into his service.‡ In August, 1461, he even seemed not indisposed to grant a truce to his enemy.

The position of Pius II. was at this time most precarious. His finances were exhausted, his troops hardly sufficed to resist Sigismondo.§ The Duke of Milan fell

* Pii II. Comment. 141 ; SIMONETA, 730 ; Chronic. Eugub., 1001, and the detailed account from the Chronicle of Broglio, Codex D. III., 48, Gambalunga Library, Rimini ; TONINI, 281 *seq.* ; REPOSATI, I., 205. The above date is corroborated by the **Despatch of B. Bonatto of the 5th July (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and Ghirardacci's Chronicle, St. di Bologna, *loc. cit.*, University Library, Bologna. On the 6th July, 1461, Pius II. endeavoured to console B. Vitelleschi ; see Appendix N. 48, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See BALDASSINI, Mem. 165, and App. C. ; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 10 ; BATTAGLINI, 644 ; Mem. di Rimino, 644 (Bologna, 1789) ; TONINI, 288 *seq.*, and App. 220–1 ; VOIGT, III., 170 ; L'ÉPINOIS, 433.

‡ *Legato Marchie, dated 5 Julii A° 3°, Lib. brev. 9, f. 190, Secret Archives of the Vatican. *Despatch of Otto de Carretto of August 18, 1461, State Archives, Milan. The original of the **Document for N. Orsini, dated Tibure, 1461, XVI. Cal. Sept., in the Orsini Archives (II. A. XVII. No. 35), Rome.

§ **Legato Marchie (*s. d.*), Lib. brev. 9, f. 247, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

seriously ill, and the French party at his Court used every effort to break the alliance with Naples. The Pope now began to say that "it was impossible for him longer to endure the complaints and grievances daily brought forward by the King of France, by most of the Prelates, and almost all the Court; he had exposed the Church to much danger on Ferrante's account, whose enemies were increasing in number like the heads of the Hydra; it would therefore be much better to be neutral and await the issue of the struggle, to take care of the States of the Church, and spend the money on the war with the Turks."* But Francesco Sforza stood firm, and the marriage of the Pope's nephew Antonio to Maria, the natural daughter of Ferrante, which took place late in the autumn, was a fresh tie binding him more closely to the house of Aragon. Antonio, who already bore the title of Duke of Sessa, was now made Chief Justice of the Kingdom and Duke of Amalfi.†

In the following March (1462) a brilliant Embassy from Louis XI., the new King of France, arrived in Rome, and made fresh efforts to win over the Pope to the side of Anjou. After a short period of indecision, however, Pius II. determined to adhere to his alliance with Ferrante.‡

The summer of the same year witnessed the close of the struggle which had so terribly devastated the Nea-

* SIMONETA, 731; VOIGT, III., 162. I searched in vain in 1882 in the State Archives at Milan for Carretto's letter of 1461 which Simoneta mentions. Perhaps in the new arrangement of the Archives which has now been undertaken it may again come to light.

† VOIGT, III., 163 *seq.*; PORTIOLI, 29. On the 30th May, 1461, Pius II. in an eloquent *Letter congratulated his nephew on his approaching marriage. A copy is in Cod. I., 28, Borghese Library, Rome.

‡ See *infra*, Chap. IV.

politan kingdom.* On the 18th August, 1462, Ferrante and Alessandro Sforza gained a decisive victory at Troja over Piccinino and John of Calabria.† Its immediate result was that the Prince of Tarento made his peace with Ferrante. And this was the turning-point of the war.

As might have been anticipated, events now succeeded each other somewhat rapidly. In the autumn of the following year (1463), Piccinino entered the service of the victor for high pay. Aquila, "which had ever since 1460 displayed the banner of Anjou," capitulated; at last Marzano, Duke of Sessa and Prince of Rossano, also yielded.‡ The unfortunate Duke of Calabria fled in September, 1463, to Ischia. In the middle of October

* "*Et e tanto, S. miei, la destructione dello reame universale che e una pieta," writes Petronius on the 15th May, 1462, from Rome to Siena (State Archives, Siena). Rome was at this time quiet, as the same writer bears witness in the P.S. of a *Letter of the 23rd May, 1462. On the 13th February, 1462, the Pope had strictly forbidden any vassal of the Church to enter into the military service of any other power without his permission. *Despatch of L. Petronius, dated Rome, 1462, Feb. 14. State Archives, Siena.

† PONTANUS, Lib. IV.; SIMONETA, 736 *seq.*; PII II. Comment. 247 *seq.*; Chronic. Eugub., 1002; NOTAR GIACOMO, 104; CAGNOLA, 157–8; Giornali Nap., 1133; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 340, II., 434. *G. de Piccolominibus on the 24th August, 1462, writing from Pienza, gives the Sienese "la felice nuova de la rotta data per la M^ta^ del S. Re al duca Giovanni et al conte Jaco." State Archives, Siena.

‡ For an account of the beginning of the negotiations which led to the defection of Piccinino and Marzano, see the *Report of Card. Gonzaga, dated Tivoli, 1463, Aug. 10, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Regarding Marzano's reconciliation, see *Despatch of G. de Piccolominibus, dated Tivoli, 1463, Sept. 5 (State Archives, Siena), and the *Bull of Pius II. of 16th Sept., 1463 (Orsini Archives, Rome). Regarding Aquila, see VOIGT, III., 177 *seq.*; Saggiatore, I., 180, and the *Brief of June 10th, 1461; see Appendix Nos. 45 and 46, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the Pope was able to recall his troops from Naples.* On the death of the Prince of Tarento in the following month, Ferrante appropriated his treasure and his fiefs.† There was no further hope for the house of Anjou, and in the spring of 1464, Duke John returned to Provence.‡

It has been already stated that Antonio Piccolomini had been invested by Ferrante with the Duchies of Sessa and Amalfi, in recognition of the assistance rendered by Pius II. in the war with Anjou. The ambition of the Pope's nephew was not, however, satisfied, and, with the help of his powerful patron, he succeeded in 1463 in also becoming Count of Celano.§

His too great attachment to his relations is an often recurring blot on the Pontificate of Pius II. Laudomia, his sister, who had married Nanni Todeschini, had, besides Antonio, three other sons, named Andrea, Giacomo, and Francesco. Small fiefs were granted by the Pope to

* See *Despatch of Nicodemus, of the 21st Sept., 1463, State Archives, Milan; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, II., 435. Card. Gonzaga in a *Letter of Oct. 15, 1463, informs his father of the recall of the Papal Troops. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Various dates are given for the death of the Prince of Tarento; see VOIGT, III., 179; that of December 26th in TOMACELLI, Storia di Napoli dal 1458 al 1464 (Napoli 1840), is certainly wrong. Baldinus vicedux in a *Despatch to Siena, dated Naples, 1463, Nov. 18, speaks of the death of the Prince (State Archives, Siena); J. de Arretio, in a *Report to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 23rd, mentions the 14th Nov. as the day of his death (Gonzaga Archives). Regarding the fiefs of the deceased, see GOTHEIN, 284.

‡ RINUCCINI, Ricordi XCIII.; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 342. On the 11th August, 1463, Pius II. had exhorted him to give up the hopeless contest; see the *Brief of this date in the University Library, Turin, Cod. I., VI., 21, f. 59b.

§ CORSIGNANI, I., 485 *seq.*; CARAFFA, Hist. di Napoli, I., 209; COSTANZO, 258; TUZII, 116 *seq.*; BRANCA, Mem. Stor. di Sora, 129 *seq.* (Napoli, 1847); VOIGT, III., 176 *seq.*; TOSTI, 171.

Andrea and Giacomo, and Francesco was in March, 1460, raised to the purple. Niccolo Forteguerri, a maternal kinsman of Pius II., was also promoted to the same dignity. "A crowd" of Sienese relations was introduced into the Prefectures of the States of the Church.*

This favour was extended to the Sienese in general. The Pope clung with enthusiastic affection to the home of his youth,† to the undulating hills, the orchards and vineyards which he has so gracefully described. He loved to dwell in the rural solitude of Corsignano, or in Siena, the city of castellated towers, which still retains many memorials of his frequent visits. The principal scenes of his eventful life are depicted in its Cathedral Library in the great historical frescoes of Pinturicchio.‡

Those who surrounded the Pope were "almost all Sienese, and of these Sienese the majority were Piccolomini." His Maggiordomo was Alessandro de Miraballi-Piccolomini, also Prefect of Frascati from the year 1460. His special confidants were Jacopo Ammanati, created Cardinal in 1460, and Gregorio Lolli, the son of his aunt, Bartolomea; § "but

* VOIGT, III., 554 *seq.* See REUMONT, III., 1, 491 *seq.*, and Römische Briefe, IV., 164 *seq.*, as well as SANSI, Storia, 51–2. It is characteristic that in his first *Brief to Siena (dated Rome, 1458, Aug. 29) Pius II. warmly recommends the Piccolomini Family (State Archives, Siena). C. LEONE, 195.

† See in particular the Report of the Sienese Ambassador, MIGNANELLI in Tre Lettere, 18–19.

‡ This series of frescoes, painted by Pinturicchio between 1502–8 for Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, furnishes on the whole the best and truest example of the early Italian Renaissance with its wealth of form and colour. LÜTZOW, 321; FALUSCHI, 16 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 572 *seq.*, and CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, IV., 293 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, Rafael und Pinturicchio in Siena (Stuttgart, 1880).

§ VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; SANSI, Storia, 53. The Archivio Piccolomineo (Arch. della Consorteria delle famiglie Piccolomini) was early in this century, by an abuse of confidence, deprived of its most precious

at any rate Pius II. did not enrich his nephews at the expense of the States of the Church, and he observed the same discretion even after Malatesta had been subdued."*

At the very time when the fate of the house of Anjou was decided at Troja, fortune also turned against Sigismondo. In the spring of 1462, Pius II. had plainly manifested his intention of inflicting exemplary punishment on the tyrant. In two different parts of Rome his effigy, a speaking likeness from the hand of Paolo Romano, was burned, an inscription in these words being affixed to it: "This is Sigismondo Malatesta, king of traitors, enemy of God and man, condemned to the fire by the decision of the Sacred College."† Sigismondo not only sought to avenge himself with his pen for these words, which expressed the general opinion, but also determined to defend himself with the sword to the last drop of his blood, for, as he wrote to the Duke of Milan, a brave death ennobles a whole life!‡

treasures. What is still preserved there is of no great importance. Enea Piccolomini gave some extracts in his Documenti, Siena, 1871. The relations of Pius II. with the authorities of Siena, who viewed him merely as a Piccolomini, were always more or less strained; see *supra* pp. 50 and 54; also, in regard to the further phases of the constitutional question, VOIGT, III., 558 *seq.*, and the appointments of Sienese to Bishoprics, 565.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 188, 3rd ed.

† PII II. Comment. 184–5; TONINI, 289; YRIARTE, 287; GEIGER, 213, is wrong in assigning the burning to the year 1461. This date is opposed by the calculation in MÜNTZ, I., 248, and the *Report of B. Marasca of the 27th April, 1462 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), as also by a **Letter of Cardinal Gonzaga of April 28, *ibid.* It was at this period customary to exhibit the portraits of adversaries, accompanied by satirical verses; see REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 105, 2nd ed. It is interesting to observe that Sigismondo had, in 1461, vainly sought the aid of Louis XI. against the Pope; see FIERVILLE, 115.

‡ Sigismondo's characteristic *Letter to Fr. Sforza is given in Appendix N. 56, from the State Archives, Milan.

On the 12th August, 1462, after suffering a severe defeat at Sinigaglia from Federigo of Urbino, he fled to Apulia.* He intended to seek assistance from John of Calabria and the Prince of Tarento, but their power had been broken at Troja, and Sigismondo found but the fragments of the Angevine army. "He returned to Rimini even more disheartened than he had started." His last hope was in Venice. The Republic had formerly given secret support to his family,† and now by letters and Ambassadors importuned the Pope to grant favourable terms to the rebel, to whom, at the same time, pecuniary assistance was privately afforded.‡ Meanwhile, Federigo, rejecting the attempts made by Malatesta to shake his allegiance to his master,§ vigorously followed up his victory; while none of Malatesta's subjects raised a hand to defend the tyrant they abhorred. Diplomatic intervention in favour of Sigismondo led to nothing. Pius II. was evidently determined to crush the tyrant.‖

* Pii II. Comment. 258–9, where the above date is mentioned. Regarding other dates, see VOIGT, III., 168; TONINI, 293; and YRIARTE, 290. Those writers who give the 24th or 26th August as the day are certainly mistaken, for Federigo of Urbino writes on the 21st August, 1462, "ex castris sanctmi. D. N.; *De la nostra victoria contra el S. Sigismondo semo certo ne havete havuto grandissima alegreza et consolatione et e raxonevole chel sia cusi. Speramo del continuo farve sentire del altre cose che ve piaceranno." Archives of Urbino, I.G., CIV., N. 7, State Archives, Florence.

† VOIGT, III., 168, 170.

‡ **Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 121b, 28 Oct., 1462, State Archives, Venice.

§ See the **Brief of Oct. 7th, 1462, in the State Archives, Florence.

‖ See **Report of O. de Carretto ex Petriolo, 28 Oct., 1462, State Archives, Milan. Regarding Malatesta's tyranny, see SIENA, Storia di Sinigaglia (1746), 138, 235; and for an account of the intervention in which Milan and Florence, as well as France (VOIGT, III., 169) and Venice, (see *Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 123 *seq.*), took part, see the

In the following year, 1463, as soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, Federigo again took the field against the rebel, whose condition became more and more hopeless. His younger brother, Domenico, despairing of any change of fortune, sold Cervia for 4,000 ducats to Venice, which had recently taken forcible possession of Ravenna.*

From the month of June the conflict was carried on chiefly round Fano, a strong place to which Federigo laid siege by land, while Cardinal Forteguerri strove to cut off all access to it by sea. Early in August the Papal fleet gained a victory over that of Malatesta; "but two Venetian galleys appeared, released Malatesta's ships and chased the Armada of the Pope back to Ancona."† Venice continued to succour the beleaguered city, but it was finally taken by the Papal troops on the 25th September. Sinigaglia next surrendered.‡ The Papal force

*Despatches of G. de Piccolominibus, dated Tuderti 1462, Dec. 1 and 3. State Archives, Siena.

* SUGENHEIM, 340; VOIGT, 171. Regarding the purchase of Cervia, see *Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 152, May 14, 1463, State Archives, Venice.

† VOIGT, III., 172. See TONINI, 297, and in Appendix N. 58, the interesting *Despatch of Nicodemus of 7th Aug., 1463. State Archives, Milan.

‡ According to TONINI, 297, Fano was taken on the 13th, and according to CIAMPI, Forteguerri, 12, on the 16th September. Both are wrong; see the *Despatch of L. Benvoglienti of September 27, 1463 (State Archives, Siena), and the Report of Federigo of Urbino to Fr. Sforza, of Sept. 25, 1463, which I found in the Ambrosian Library. According to this the capitulation was determined on *questa matina*. Ph. de Lignamine agrees with this statement. The Chronic. Eugub. 1006, says that the fortress capitulated on the 28th. On the 9th Oct. 1463, Cardinal Gonzaga writes to his father:* "Ritrovandomi questa sera a palatio cum la S. de N. S. se hebbe la novella che Senegallia insieme cum la rocha senza un trar de bombardo se era data a la chiesia" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In the same year, Pius II. gave Sinigaglia with Mondavio to his nephew Antonio; see *L.

then advanced to Rimini, where Sigismondo, "completely broken in spirit, awaited his fate."

To the intercession of Venice, supported by Florence and Milan, the tyrant owed the pardon granted to him by the Pope. Its conditions, however, were so hard that his power was thoroughly shattered; Venice had to raise the siege of Trieste, of which Pius II. had once been Bishop. Sigismondo, who was required to abjure his "heresy," retained possession of the city of Rimini, with a territory of five miles in circumference, while his brother occupied one of similar extent around Cesena. Both undertook to pay an annual tribute to the Apostolic See, and in the event of their death without legitimate heirs their lands were to revert to the Church.*

Thus did the most powerful of all the despots of Italy, the man who "for twenty years had been the terror of Princes and Popes," fall before the unwarlike Pius II. "He could now look down with satisfaction from Monte Cavo, the highest of the Alban Hills, which commands the plain from Terracina to Capo Argentaro, on the broad States of the Church—a country which, if it contained nothing but Alma Roma, contains that which suffices to make its rulers the equals of Emperors."†

Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1463, Dec. 30, State Archives, Siena.

* VOIGT, III., 173; SUGENHEIM, 340 *seq.*; REUMONT, Lorenzo, I., 178, 2nd ed. Regarding the intercession of Fr. Sforza for Sigismondo, see CLEMENTINI, Racc. Storico di Rimino, II., 244 (Rimini, 1627) and the **Despatches of O. de Carretto and Augustinus, dated ex urbe die xxi., Oct. 1463, State Archives, Milan. Federigo of Urbino was largely rewarded; see BALDI, III., 54 *seq.*, and REPOSATI I., 215 *seq.*; VOIGT, *loc. cit.* The extent to which the Pope confided in him is manifested in the **Brief of Sept. 7, 1463. State Archives, Florence. See UGOLINI, I., 405 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 189, 3rd ed.

CHAPTER IV.

Opposition to Papal Authority in France and Germany.

The state of ecclesiastical and political affairs in France and Germany was such as to cause the Pope even greater anxiety than the troubles of his native land. The indifference of these two great powers to the Crusade was in itself a serious sign of the lessening influence of the Church. The effects of the false doctrines promulgated at Constance and Basle manifested themselves in both countries in a yet more alarming manner, in persistent efforts to destroy her monarchical constitution. All attempts of this kind were resisted by Pius II. with a clear apprehension of the dignity of his office as Head of the Priesthood. His zeal and firmness in vindicating the authority and the inalienable rights of the Holy See against the assaults of the Conciliar and national parties are doubly admirable when we consider the difficult circumstances of his time.

Twenty years had elapsed since, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (July 7th, 1438), France had assumed a semi-schismatical position. The Resolutions drawn up during that period of confusion hardly left to the Pope any influence in ecclesiastical appointments in France, and also deprived his Court of the revenues formerly drawn from that country. Moreover, since they reaffirmed

the Decree regarding the Superiority of Councils, they also threatened the monarchical constitution conferred by Christ on His Church. The Pragmatic Sanction, in the opinion of a non-Catholic student, was an abiding memorial of the Conciliar ideas, principles and aims, and of the opposition of the national spirit to the theory of the Universal Church. It expressed the pretension of the temporal ruler to order ecclesiastical matters in his kingdom according to his own good pleasure. As long as France adhered to it, a precedent existed to which other nations could appeal, and which constituted a perpetual menace to the Papal power. While it remained in force the restored Papacy could not consider its authority to be perfectly re-established. France had based her position on the Decrees of Constance and Basle, and was accordingly compelled to sympathise with every movement which aimed at the maintenance of the superiority of Councils over the Pope.*

Efforts had not been wanting to procure the repeal of this law, which had proceeded from an authority absolutely incompetent to deal with ecclesiastical matters. Eugenius IV., Cardinal d'Estouteville, acting for Nicholas V., and finally Calixtus III., had all laboured, though vainly, in this direction.†

Pius II. took up the question energetically. The picture

* CREIGHTON, II., 423–26; VOIGT, III., 181 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, III., 326 *seq.*; FEVRE, VI., 174 *seq.*; DE BEAUCOURT in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., XII., 104; PÓR, Aen. Sylvius, 214 (Budapest, 1880); MÜNCH, Concordate, I., 207, characterises the Pragmatic Sanction as a deadly blow to the Roman Court in that most important portion of its domain, France. See also the memorials of G. Aquaviva on the causes of the spread of heresies in the 16th century in LÄMMER, Melet. Rom. Mant., 222 (Ratisbonae, 1875).

† See Vol. II. of this work, pp. 104 and 379, where the documents are given; also BASIN-QUICHERAT, I., 319.

which he drew in his Memoirs of the effects of the Pragmatic Sanction shews how deeply impressed he was with the necessity of obtaining its revocation. "The French Prelates," he writes, "supposed they would have greater liberty; but, on the contrary, they have been brought into grievous bondage, and made the slaves of the laity. They are forced to give an account of their affairs to Parliament; to confer benefices according to the good pleasure of the king and the more powerful nobles; to promote minors, unlearned, deformed and illegitimate persons to the priestly office; to remit the punishment of those whom they have justly condemned; to absolve the excommunicated without satisfaction. Any one conveying into France a Bull contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction is made liable to the penalty of death. Parliament has meddled with the affairs of the Bishops, with Metropolitan Churches, with marriages and matters of faith. The audacity of the laity has gone so far that even the most Holy Sacrament has been stopped by order of the King when borne in procession for the veneration of the people or for the consolation of the sick. Bishops and other Prelates and venerable priests have been cast into common prisons. Church property and the goods of the clergy have been confiscated on trifling pretexts by a secular judge, and handed over to lay people."*

At the Congress of Mantua, Pius II. had made no secret of his opinions. In the memorable audience in

* Pii II. Comment. 160; Voigt III., 186; Dansin, 257. The power of interference in the internal affairs of the Church granted by the Pragmatic Sanction to the Parliament was already very great; Parliament soon extended it so far that, in 1453, Charles VII. was constrained to issue an ordinance against it; this, however, was of no avail; see Phillips, III., 1, 328, and Dove, Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, III., 85 *seq.*

which he justified his action in favour of Ferrante and against the Angevine claims supported by France, he strongly expressed his disapprobation of the abnormal position of the Church in that country of which the Pragmatic Sanction was the cause. The prohibition of appeals from the Pope to a Council, published at the conclusion of the Congress, was explicitly directed against the theory on which the French law rested.*

The irritation produced in Paris by this measure was evinced by the attitude of the University quite as much as by that of the king. This body, which from the first had been bitterly hostile to Pius II., had, even in the time of Calixtus III., nominated a committee for the interpretation and execution of the Pragmatic Sanction. On the 16th May, 1460, it further determined that these delegates should receive a salary. Negotiations with the king and the Parliament for the defence of the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church were also set on foot.† Charles VII. was all the more disposed to take up the matter, on account of his grudge against Pius II. in regard to the contest for the throne of Naples. Through his Procurator-General, Jean Dauvet, he published a very disrespectful protest against the Pope's discourse at Mantua. Pius II. was attacked for his "praise of the Bastard, which he would have done better to keep to himself;" he was admonished to take care what he did against France, to leave the Council and its decrees in peace, and to summon a free Council, not in the Lateran, but in France. Meanwhile the King would uphold the Conciliar decisions in his dominions, and should the Pope trouble him or his subjects on this account, he would appeal to a future Council; and if the Pope failed to call one in a free

* See *supra*, pp. 93 and 100 *seq.*

† BULAEUS, V., 632, 636, 642.

place, he, together with other Princes, would take the matter into his own hands.* The Pope was still further insulted by the contemptuous treatment of the ambassadors whom he had sent to negotiate with Charles regarding the war against the Turks, and who were kept for months without an answer. Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed strange that the requests of the King for the appointment of Cardinals agreeable to him were not granted.† Later on, when the anti-Papal feeling in Germany had grown very strong, fears were entertained at the Roman Court that the enemies of the Holy See in France and Germany might make common cause.‡ These apprehensions were by no means unfounded, for at this very time Gregor Heimburg, the most violent opponent of Pius II., was sent to the French Court in order to bring about a general combination against Rome, and to procure a Council.§ The Pope, therefore, deemed it prudent to ignore the conditional

* Preuves des Libertez, 502. See VOIGT, III., 187. VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, 437.

† On the 7th March, 1460, *Pius II. wrote to Charles VII. that it had not been possible to confer the Red Hat, according to his request, on the Bishop of Lausanne and the Protonotary Delebreto, as the *assensus* of the Cardinals could not be obtained. Lib. brev. 9, f. 121b, *ibid.* f. 130, the *Brief concerning the Ambassadors; see Appendix N. 38, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ On the 14th Feb., 1461, B. Bonatto wrote as follows from Rome to Marquess Lodovico: *"Credo che il papa mandara etiam in Franza qualchuno; se queste due natione (French and German) concoresseno insieme poteria esser se faria qualche cossa;" he goes on to express the hope that the Council will assemble in Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ HÖFLER, Kaiserl. Buch, 84; HASSELHOLT-STOCKHEIM, 305; MENZEL, 119. Regarding the manner in which the German enemies of Rome were instigated by France, see *infra* p. 175, Bessarion's *Letter of 29th March, 1461, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

appeal of the French monarch to a Council, "a formal condemnation of the Paris acts would necessitate lengthy legal proceedings at the Court of Rome." But he did not modify his decrees in any way, and in his Briefs to Charles VII. constantly insisted on the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.*

It was an important advantage for Pius II. in dealing with the ecclesiastical affairs of France, that the Dauphin Louis, then an exile in Burgundy, and uncertain as to his succession, was on his side. Negotiations conducted by the ambitious and learned Bishop of Arras, Jean Jouffroy, had resulted in a formal promise from Louis that, if he should succeed to the throne, he would abolish the Pragmatic Sanction.† This event was hastened by the excesses of Charles VII., which had told most injuriously on his feeble constitution. In the summer of 1461 he was attacked by toothache; fearing poison, he refused food and drink for a considerable time, and this led to his death on the 22nd July.‡ Louis XI. became King of France.

The great question now was whether the new King would hold to the engagement which had been made under such different circumstances. The uncompromising opposition to his father's system, which he manifested

* HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 124. Regarding the text of Pius II.'s Brief of the 9th Dec., 1460, to Charles VII., see CIAMPINI, Parergon ad examen libri pontificalis sive epistola Pii II. ad Carolum VII. (Romae, 1688).

† PII II. Comment. 164. See a Letter of Louis XI. in ÆN. SYLV. Opp., p. 863, Basle ed.

‡ VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, 458. Here (p. 443 and in the Rev. des Quest. Hist., XVII., 382 *seq.*) details are given regarding the immoral life of the King. Tidings of Charles's death reached Bologna on the 3rd August (Cr. di Bologna, 739) and Rome on the 7th.

from the first moment of his accession,* gave rise to the most favourable anticipations.

As early as the 18th August, 1461, the Pope, in an autograph letter, reminded him of his promise ;† adding that the special negotiations regarding this important matter would be intrusted to a prelate, who would be acceptable to his Majesty, Jean Jouffroy, the Bishop of Arras.‡

It seems, however, as if Pius II. at this time had but little confidence in the progress of ecclesiastical affairs in France. The Bishop of Arras was accredited to England, Scotland, and Burgundy, but not to France, as if it was feared that in that country his authority as Legate a latere might meet with opposition.§ The Cardinal of Coutances was urgently exhorted to persevere in his efforts for the restoration of the Papal authority, and to do everything in his power to assist those of Louis XI.‖

Jouffroy, who was honourably received by the King¶

* Basin-Quicherat, II., 25–6 ; Dansin, 259. G. Lolli wrote from Tivoli to Siena on the 11th Aug., 1561 : "La nuova della morte del re di Francia fara mutare molte fantasie." State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Ep. 23, Milan ed.

‡ Even on the 15th Aug., 1461, *O. de Carretto, writing from Tivoli, was able to inform the Duke of Milan that Jouffroy would probably be sent to Louis XI.; he speaks of the Prelate as "molto accetto et familiare allo prefato S^mo Re." State Archives, Milan. P. E. Roma II. For an account of the previous life of Jouffroy, see Frizon, 512 *seq.*, the monograph of Pierre Joseph Grappin (Besançon, 1785) and the eulogistic work of Fierville ; see also Vahlen, 33 and 407.

§ Raynaldus, ad an. 1461, N. 116 ; Voigt, III., 191 ; Chastellain, IV., 121.

‖ **Brief to the Cardinal of Coutances, Lib. brev. 9, f. 244, Secret Archives of the Vatican (incomplete in Raynaldus, ad an. 1461, N. 117).

¶ *Brief of Pius II. to J. Jouffroy, dated Rome, 1461, Oct. 20 : "Accepimus litteras tuas et intelleximus quid cum Regia Ser^te, quid

entered upon his task with the greatest zeal; but his zeal, and the means which he employed, were far from being pure. To this ambitious man the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction was nothing but a ladder for his own exaltation. He hoped by success in this matter to earn the Cardinal's hat, which he had already vainly sought, through the intervention of the Duke of Burgundy.* With this aim in view Jouffroy began to insinuate himself into the good graces of the new King, and thanks to the "courtly address," which was his undoubted characteristic, he was soon successful.

The dislike of Louis to everything that his father had done greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the task entrusted to the Bishop of Arras. He also represented to the King that if once the arrangement made in 1438 were abolished, the influence of the nobles in the matter of Church preferment would be at an end. The idea of lowering and weakening the power of the Vassals of the Crown had, at this time, taken possession of the mind of Louis XI. In the course of these negotiations no doubt the old grievance in regard to the large sums of money drawn out of France by Rome was again revived. We have not sufficient information to follow in detail all Jouffroy's intrigues, but it is probable that these apprehensions were met by the assurance that the Pope would appoint a Legate to reside in France, who would institute to all benefices, and that thus the money would remain in the kingdom.†

ille tecum contulerit. Letamur incolumen te pervenisse ad regem et cum honore fuisse ab illo susceptum." Lib. brev. 9, f. 223, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* *Brief of 7th March, 1460, to Philip of Burgundy: see Appendix N. 37, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Mém. de J. DU CLERCQ, V., c. 4.

Louis XI. seems to have expressed to the Legate a confident hope that, in acknowledgment of the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, the Pope would change his Neapolitan policy and favour the claims of France; and Jouffroy no doubt confirmed this expectation, although well aware of its fallaciousness. At Rome he said little or nothing of this, but dwelt much on Louis' noble sentiments and his firm determination to repeal the anti-Papal Law by his own authority.

On the reception of these good tidings, Pius II. at once wrote a long letter of thanks to the King. He commended Louis' decision as a great and good deed, and begged him not to defer its accomplishment. "If your Prelates and the University desire anything from Us," he says in this letter, "let them only apply to Us through You; gladly will We grant all that can fittingly be granted." At the same time he admonished the King that it was his duty to take his part in the rescue of Christendom from the Turks.*

The first and most urgent demand of Louis XI. was that Jouffroy and Prince Louis d'Albret should be raised to the purple. Pius II. perceived the necessity of granting this request, which had already been made by Charles VII., if the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction were to be accomplished. It cost him much trouble, however, to obtain the consent of the Sacred College. There were long and excited discussions, of which the Pope gives a detailed account in his Memoirs.† Many of the Cardinals were extremely averse to any increase in the

* Pius II.'s Letter of Oct. 26, 1461, in Opp. omn., 861–2.

† Pii II. Comment. 183, with the important supplement in CUGNONI, 214 *seq.* The date of the commencement of the negotiations may be gathered from the statement that Cardinal Fieschi was dead. His decease took place on the 8th Oct., 1461; see *Acta Consist., f. 30, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

numbers of the Sacred College, others brought forward objections which as d'Albret was a man of strictly moral life, were only applicable to Jouffroy. Cardinal Alain in particular painted the character of his countryman in the darkest colours. Pius II. did not contradict his statements, but pointed out the necessity, under the circumstances, of choosing the least of two evils. In the event of his refusing the King's request, the Pragmatic Sanction would not be repealed; Jouffroy would be furious and would have no difficulty in turning Louis completely against the Pope, since he was already dissatisfied with the policy of the Holy See in regard to Naples. In the beginning of December an agreement was arrived at. On the 18th, the names of seven new Cardinals were published, and amongst them were those of d'Albret and Jouffroy.*

Just at this time tidings reached Rome that Louis XI. had really revoked the Pragmatic Sanction. The King himself wrote to the Pope on the 27th November, 1461, to announce the event. "As we perceive," he said, "that obedience is better than sacrifice, we consent to admit that which you have announced to us, namely, that the Pragmatic Sanction is injurious to the Holy See, and that, originating in a time of schism and revolt, it robs You, from whom all holy laws proceed, of Your authority, and is contrary to right and justice. Although some learned men have sought to refute this and have greatly dissuaded Us from the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, yet knowing and perceiving that You are the Prince of the whole Church, the head of religion, the Shepherd of the Lord's flock, we follow Your teaching and cleave to it with full consent. Therefore, as You require, we set aside and proscribe the Pragmatic Sanction in our whole kingdom, in Dauphiné and all our dominions, in which from henceforth

* *Acta Consist. *loc. cit.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Your jurisdiction shall be unquestioned. Even as the members in the human body are directed without conflict by one head and one spirit, so will the Prelates of the Church in our kingdom yield complete obedience to Your Sacred Decrees. Should any, however, offer resistance and make objections, We pledge our royal word to Your Holiness to have Your instructions carried out, to exclude all appeals, and to punish those who should prove refractory."*

When Pius II. imparted this Letter to the assembled Consistory, he could not refrain from tears of joy. His confidential secretary, Gregorio Lolli, at once sent a copy to Siena, adding that it was long since any Pope had achieved so great a victory as had now been won by their fellow-countryman.†

Antonio da Noceto, a brother of the well-known Pietro da Noceto, was sent to France to convey to the King a consecrated sword. On the blade was engraved an invitation to the Turkish war composed by Pius II., who also sent an autograph letter, praising his conduct in the highest terms.‡

On the 26th December, 1461, Gregorio Lolli had triumphantly informed his Sienese fellow-countrymen that the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction was the most

* Æn. Sylvii Opera, 863, Basle ed. See Hergenröther, Staat und Kirche, 107 *seq.*; Voigt, III., 195; Legeay, I., 294.

† Autograph **Letter of G. Lolli, of the 15th December, 1461, State Archives, Siena.

‡ Pii II. Comment. 184; Ep. 27, ed. Mediolan.; Voigt, III., 195, is mistaken in supposing Antonio da Noceto to be the son of Pietro. Gerini (Mem. s. Lunigiana, II., 200) identifies him with Pietro; see on the contrary Minutoli in the Atti d. R. Accad. Lucchese (Lucca, 1882) XXI., 27 *seq.*, and Arch. St. Ital., 1889, 34 *seq.* Desjardin's Louis XI., p. 12, also maintains that Louis' zeal against the Turks was not sincere.

important intelligence that could have been imparted to the Apostolic See; with one stroke a country so great as France had been won back to its allegiance, and the obedience of all Christians confirmed. They ought to thank God that His Church had been thus exalted in the time of a Sienese Pope; for their fuller information, and that they might see how unreservedly Louis XI. had revoked this enactment, he sent them a copy of two letters from Cardinals Longueil and Jouffroy.* But by the beginning of January, 1462, a report from Jouffroy of a very different character was in the Pontiff's hands. "After Jouffroy had entered the sure haven of the Cardinalate," Pius II. writes in his Memoirs, "he brought forward that which he had hitherto concealed, namely, that the Pragmatic Sanction would certainly only be repealed when the King's wishes regarding Naples had been complied with."† Pius II. answered the observations of the new Cardinal regarding the practicability of carrying out the royal Decree on the 13th January, 1462. Jouffroy would, he said, no doubt be able to remove the difficulties which were arising, he could not believe in a change of purpose on the part of the pious King.‡

The conduct of Louis XI. at this time was well calculated to confirm the Pope's impression. The Parliament was commanded to have the letter of 27th November, 1461, registered as a Royal Ordinance; the King would brook no opposition.§ The objections of the Parliament and the University were sternly silenced. When a deputation

* See the text of the Letter from the Original in the State Archives, Siena, in Appendix, N. 53.

† Pii II. Comment. 186.

‡ Pii II. Ep. 26, ed. Mediol.

§ Ordonnances des Rois de France, XV., 193 (Paris, 1811). See Voigt, III., 195.

from the University of Paris appeared before the King in January, 1462, while he was at Tours, "Go your ways!" he exclaimed, "I care not to trouble myself about such as you."*

Louis XI. hoped that the Pope would reward this zeal by completely changing his policy in regard to Naples, and either openly espousing the cause of Anjou, or at least abandoning that of Ferrante. The monarch who, according to Monstrelet, could speak with the tones of a syren, did not hesitate on occasion to resort to threats. At the end of January 1462, the Florentine Ambassadors had informed Cosmo de' Medici that Louis had sworn to avenge himself on the Pope in case he should refuse to support John of Calabria. A Council was to be called, and whatever else could most harass and annoy the Court of Rome was to be done.† The mere mention of the word Council was enough greatly to disturb the Pope; and to trusted friends, such as the Milanese Ambassador, he spoke bitterly of Gallic pride and arrogance.‡ But he concealed his vexation from the King,

* According to CHASTELLAIN, IV., 200, the King's words were: "Par la Pasque Dieu Sainte! que je n' en feray riens. Vous estes meschans gens et de mauvaise vie, et avez vos grosses grasses ribaudes que vous nourissez auprès vous. Allez vous en, car vous ne valez point que je me mesle de vous." The time when this scene took place is to be gathered from the Itinerary of Louis in JEAN DE REILHAC, etc., II., XXXII., according to which the King stayed at Tours until the 14th January, 1462.

† Report of Nicodemus of the 26th January, 1462, in BUSER, Beziehungen, 411. The account given by Nicodemus is confirmed by the Despatch of an Italian (Florentine?) *Ambassador, dated Tours, 1461 (st. fl.), January 6th, of which I found a contemporary copy in the Gaetani Archives, Rome (XLV., N. 49).

‡ *Despatch of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 6, Ambrosian Library, Milan.

and again on the 24th February wrote to him in the most friendly manner, saying that he was awaiting proposals from Jouffroy, and would refuse nothing consistent with honour and justice.*

Pius II. was, in fact, at this time seriously considering the advisability of a complete change of policy in regard to Naples. The French King's threats of an anti-Roman Council and a schism had begun to take effect. As the day of the arrival of Jouffroy and the other Ambassadors approached, his anxiety increased. Coppini, Bishop of Terni, was indefatigable on the Cardinal's side, insisting on the threatening attitude of Louis XI., and declaring that unless Pius II. took the part of Anjou, the French King would ally himself with the Venetians, send an army into Italy by way of Savoy, and so harass the Duke of Milan that he would be compelled to abandon Ferrante. Thus the whole burden of the Neapolitan war would fall on the Pope.†

Pius II. was able to conceal his agitation from the world at large, but to a few who enjoyed his confidence he made no secret of his uncertainties regarding the possibility of continuing to support Ferrante. A remarkable report, written by the Milanese Ambassador, Otto de Carretto, to Francesco Sforza on the 12th March, 1462, bears witness to this.‡ "To-day," writes the Ambassador, "after having dismissed all who were present in his room, the Pope said to me: 'Messer Otto, you are a faithful

* Epist. 28, ed. Mediol.; VOIGT, III., 196.

† PII II. Comment. 186.

‡ I found in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, the original of this **Document, which is important as correcting the picture given in the Memoirs of Pius II. Its length is such that my copy fills eighteen large pages, and I am therefore obliged to reserve it for my proposed "Collection of Documents."

servant of your lord; and as his affairs are most closely connected with my own, I will quite secretly impart certain matters to you and then ask your advice concerning them.'"

Then, continues Carretto, Pius II. proceeded to sketch the present political situation. He began with Milan and pointed out that the Duchy was surrounded by States like Savoy, Montferrat and Modena, whose sympathies were partially or entirely with France. In the case of an attack from that country, the most that could be expected from Florence would be some secret and small pecuniary aid. Venice would, no doubt, make use of a war between Milan and France for her own advantage. Francesco Sforza could reckon with certainty only on the Marquess of Mantua, whose power was not great. The discontent of many Milanese subjects,* some of whom leaned to the side of France, and others to that of Venice, must also be taken into consideration.

The Pope looked upon Ferrante's position in Naples as hopeless. His treasury was empty, and his subjects detested him; nothing but sheer force kept him on the throne. The nobles who had submitted to him might at any moment again revolt, some were already wavering; his government had no solid foundation.

He then went on to draw a melancholy and even exaggerated picture of his own difficulties. The powerful party of the Colonna was, he said, entirely devoted to France. The Savelli and Everso of Anguillara would gladly renew their alliance with Jacopo Piccinino. Many others in the dominions of the Church were discontented because their excesses had been restrained. In the Marches, the Vicar of Camerino, Giulio Cesare Varano, was a great enemy of the Holy See. He preferred to say

* See BUSER, Beziehungen, 107.

nothing of Sigismondo Malatesta, of Forli, and the Vicars of the Romagna. Florence and Venice had no more ardent wish than that the temporal power of the Church should be weakened. He could rely on no one in Italy save the Duke of Milan, and if his resources were taxed in another direction, what was to become of the Papal Government? His treasury was exhausted, his annual revenues from all sources did not altogether amount to more than 150,000 ducats. Then the spiritual power of the Holy See was a matter of incomparably greater importance than the temporal, and what was the prospect here? In Italy the religious situation was no better than the political. In Germany, by maintaining, as he was in duty bound, the honour of the Holy See, he had incurred the enmity of the powerful Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol and of the Elector of Mayence. Several of the German Princes, and especially the Count Palatine Frederick, had joined the latter. Other Princes of the Empire were hostile to the Pope because of his friendship with the Emperor. The King of Hungary, who had entered into an alliance with Louis XI., was also against Frederick III. The King of Bohemia was half a heretic, the Duke of Cleves was also anti-Roman in his sympathies, because the Holy See had not yielded to his unjust requisitions upon the Church of Cologne. Spain was almost entirely led by France, and so were Burgundy and Savoy. How easy would it be for the French monarch to place himself at the head of these malcontents, especially in ecclesiastical matters. Louis XI. had indeed repealed the Pragmatic Sanction, but now, it was said, he required Rome to desist from assisting Ferrante. If his demand were refused, there was reason to fear that, under the cloak of zeal for the Church, he would insist on the summoning of a Council. All these enemies of Rome, and even many

of the Cardinals, would join him in this. A schism might easily be the consequence. He greatly feared some threat of this kind from the French Ambassadors now on their way to Rome. The Cardinals, partly from fear of a schism and partly from a leaning to France, would think it better that he should make friends with the French King in time, rather than run the risk of all the troubles that might ensue. Carretto was now required to give his opinion, but he was to speak to no one of this conversation; for the Pope had as yet kept his uncertainties secret, fearing the pressure to which he might be subjected if they were known. Moreover, he had been informed that even in the Duke's own Court there were but few who considered it expedient to persist in supporting Ferrante.*

The Milanese Ambassador replied that, notwithstanding all difficulties, his master was disposed to hold to Ferrante. The French Ambassadors, he said, must be appeased by soft words. He was, however, ready to lay before the Duke the doubts which the Pope had manifested to him.

Pius II. replied that Carretto was to express his views not as an Ambassador, but as a private individual. The latter then acknowledged all the difficulty of the situation, but also maintained that a change in the Italian policy of the Pope would in no way mend matters. He was in honour bound still to support Ferrante. What kind of impression would be made if Pius II., who had hitherto helped him in every possible manner, were now, on account of French threats and persuasions, to reverse all that he had done? In regard to immediate advantages, it was to be considered that the French custom was

* Regarding the French party at Fr. Sforza's Court, see *supra*, Chap. III., p. 119.

to promise much and perform little. Moreover, it was doubtful whether Louis XI. would really engage so deeply in Italian politics. Venice would hardly suffer French influence to become all-powerful in Italy. In the Milanese territory the people were not so discontented as the Pope seemed to suppose. On the contrary, never had a Prince been more loved and honoured by his subjects than was the Duke; every one of them would suffer anything rather than submit to another ruler. If Louis XI. were to interfere personally in Italian affairs, time would still be required for the necessary preparations, and meanwhile the rising in Naples might be quelled.

At the conclusion of his statement, Carretto again reverted to the opinion which he had expressed at the beginning. Admitting, he said, the existence of all these dangers, a change in the Italian policy of the Holy See would produce others of a yet more serious character. If France should acquire a preponderating influence in Naples, Genoa, Asti, Florence and Modena, the haughty young King, having seen that a word had sufficed to subdue the Pope and the Duke of Milan, would soon subjugate the rest of the Peninsula. Whose fault would it then be that Italy was at the mercy of France, and the Pope reduced to the position of Chaplain to her King? What, after this, could hinder Louis XI. from placing a creature of his own on the Papal Throne, and again transferring the supreme government of the Church to his dominions? Italy and the Apostolic See ought not to be exposed to such dangers as these, in the vain hope that the French King would take part in the Turkish war. If the Cardinals, Prelates and others about the Court, were in favour of an agreement with France, the Pope must remember that they were actuated by selfish motives.

The day after this conversation the splendid Embassy from the King of France, headed by Count Pierre de Chaumont, arrived in Rome. It was received with great pomp and solemnity. As the Cardinals of Arras and Coutances were among the Envoys, most of the members of the Sacred College went as far as the Porta del Popolo to meet them. They alighted at the Convent at this gate, where newly-appointed Cardinals were accustomed to await their formal reception in Consistory.*

During these days the Milanese Envoy was indefatigable in his activity. His representations made a great impression on the Pope, but it soon became evident that other means also must be employed to counteract the menaces of France and to hold Pius II. fast to his treaty. Carretto turned to those who had most influence with the Pontiff—to Cardinals Forteguerri and Ammanati, to Gregorio Lolli, and also to Scarampo, Bessarion, Carvajal and other eminent members of the Sacred College. He deemed it a matter of the greatest importance that the French offers of large military assistance in the war against the Turks should be appreciated by that body at their real worth.

Before the reception of the French Ambassadors, Carretto had two other interviews with Pius II. In the latter of these the Pope told him that he had resolved to reply to the French in an amicable manner, and to bestow on them due praise for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction ; and with regard to Neapolitan affairs, to inform them that he must persevere in the course which he had adopted, but that he was ready to gratify Louis XI.

* See **Carretto's Report of the 14th March, 1462, State Archives, Milan, and *Acta Consist., f. 30b, Secret Archives of the Vatican. FIERVILLE, in his Biography of Jouffroy, tells us hardly anything new in regard to the events which follow.

in any way consistent with his honour. Above all, he would not break with France; it was to be hoped that in the end some means might be found of reconciling conflicting claims. "My most anxious endeavour," writes Carretto in concluding his report, "will be to keep his Holiness firm in this matter, and to take care that no one should know of his vacillations."*

Cardinal Jouffroy had in the meantime also seen the Pope. Even in his very first audience, forgetful of his duty as a Prince of the Church, and a member of her Senate, he shewed himself simply and solely a Frenchman, the paid agent of his King. He tried by every means in his power to turn the Pope from his alliance with Ferrante. He painted in the darkest colours the disadvantages of the policy which he had hitherto pursued, in order to contrast them with the benefits which the French King could confer, dwelling especially on the great things in store for the nephews of Pius II. The Pope replied that he duly valued the friendship of France, and was sensible of the debt of gratitude which he owed to the King for the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; but that what Louis demanded in regard to Naples would bring disgrace on the Holy See, and that he could not, and would not, yield in this matter. In the course of a long interview, Jouffroy, acting on his own authority, proposed that Ferrante should be compensated by the grant of the principality of Tarento. Pius II. expressed a doubt whether the Neapolitan King would consent to this plan, and finally the Cardinal took his leave, declaring that he hoped, on the next occasion, to find the Pope better disposed.†

* **Letter of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 15, Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† **Second Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, of March 15th,

The solemn audience of the French Ambassadors took place on the 16th March.* Pius II., in full pontificals, sat on the throne in the great Hall of the Consistory, the Cardinals were opposite to him, while the middle space was occupied by the Bishops, Prelates, Notaries, and other officials, together with numerous spectators. When the Ambassadors had kissed the foot of the Pope, and presented their credentials, Jouffroy made a long speech. After a pompous eulogy of the French nation and its monarch, he did homage on behalf of Louis XI., read the royal decree concerning the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction,† and made magnificent promises in regard to the Turkish war. His King would lead an army of 70,000 men against Mahomet, and only asked in return that the Pope should assist him to reconquer Genoa, and

1462, Ambrosian Library. Louis XI. afterwards, but without any real intention of carrying out the arrangement, offered his daughter in marriage to the Pope's nephew; Pius politely declined, his nephew being already married. VOIGT, III., 165.

* Not on March 15th, as VOIGT, III., 197, following the Report of the Bohemian Ambassador in PALACKY, IV., 2, 220, states, for the 16th of March is mentioned: (1) by O. de Carretto in a *Despatch to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 16; (2) by Bartholomaeus Riverius in his *Report to Fr. Sforza, of the same day: both of these Documents are in the State Archives at Milan; (3) by G. Lolli, in a **Letter to Siena, dated Rome, 1461 (st. fl.), March 17 (State Archives, Siena); (4) by *B. Bonatto to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, 1462, March 16 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); (5) in *Acta Consist. *loc. cit.* (Secret Archives of the Vatican). *Cod. Vatic., 5667, also states that Pius II. answered the French Ambassadors on the 16th March. Voigt's supposition that the Pope pronounced this discourse on the following day is mistaken, and is in direct contradiction to the Memoirs of Pius II., p. 187.

† See the *Letter of G. Lolli, of March 17, 1462, in the State Archives, Siena.

support John of Calabria instead of Ferrante in the Kingdom of Naples.

All present were filled with astonishment at the eloquence and fluency of the discourse which Pius II. made in reply. So deep was the silence, says a Milanese chronicler, that it seemed as if there were no one in the Hall.* The Pope did not fail to praise the French King, but made no allusion to his demands in regard to Genoa and Naples.† After a formal document concerning the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction had been drawn up by a notary, the hat was conferred upon Jouffroy, to whom a seat among the Cardinals was then assigned. ‡

On the 17th March, Gregorio Lolli announced to his fellow-countrymen the unconditional revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction. This was, he declared, the most solemn and important event which had occurred for

* "*La S^ta^. de N. S^re^. audite queste loro offerte et supplichacione ad richiedere prout supra disi, ha risposto con tanta dolzeza, con tanta sonoritate et influentia de dire, che tuto il concistorio publico e rimasto stupefacto: tanta e stata la elegantia de lo dire che niuno pareva fusse in quella salla et tanta era la audientia che se prestava ad Sua S^ta^., che, S^or^ mio, e stata una cosa miraculosa ad audire la Sua B. proferire questa sua elegantissima et resposiva oracione in acceptare solo le offerte del la M^ta^. de S^re^. Re de Franza facte per questi r^mi^. oratori soy de la quale aceptacione in publico S. B. ne ha facto tractati instrumentum per uno mes. Antonio da Eugubio doctore apostolico notaro cum quelle solempnitate se richiedono." *Report of B. Riverius in the State Archives, Milan. See in Appendix, N. 55, the *Despatch of L. Petronius, of the 17th March, State Archives, Siena.

† See *Despatch of O. de Carretto, of March 16, 1462, State Archives, Milan. The Pope's speech is in MANSI II., 103–114.

‡ *Acta Consist., f. 30b, Secret Archives of the Vatican. From the same source we learn that the ceremony of opening the mouths of the Cardinals of Coutances and Arras took place on the 29th of March.

many years at the Court. It was celebrated by processions and festivities.*

In Rome the tidings were received with an outburst of joy. Bonfires were kindled and the air was filled with the sound of trumpets and bells. The Pope was praised all the more highly because the expectations of success had been but small. No one, he says in his Memoirs, had looked upon the repeal of the law as a possibility; it was deemed a great thing that the evil had not extended yet further.†

The event was one of those which leaves its mark in the world's history. The Pope's thoughts must have reverted to those days in the spring of 1447, when, as Ambassador of Frederick III., he had procured the reconciliation of the greater part of the Holy Roman Empire with the Holy See.‡ On neither occasion can his joy have been unmixed; yet Pius II. had good reason to be satisfied at the great effects which, at least for a time, were produced by the concession of Louis XI.§

During the succeeding days, Cardinal Jouffroy and the Count de Chaumont had several prolonged audiences of

* **Letter of March 17, 1462, State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Comment. 187. See in Appendix N. 55 the *Despatch of Petronius of March 17, 1462.

‡ See our account of this matter, Vol. I., p. 348.

§ Palacky, IV., 216–17. On the same 16th of March Bessarion held up to the Bohemian Ambassadors the splendid example which the King of France had given in his complete submission to the Pope. In spite of the opposition of the French Hierarchy Louis XI. had carried out his purpose; the honours which this action had gained for him would, in case of similar conduct, be the portion of the King of Bohemia, *loc. cit.* 220. From a *Letter written by Cardinal Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1462, March 30th, we learn that Pius II., at this time, intended to issue a solemn Bull regarding the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the Pope.* All their eloquence failed to bring Pius II. over to the cause of Anjou. He indeed proposed a truce or a compromise, but all negotiations for this purpose proved fruitless.† Threats were freely employed by the French. How, they asked, will the Pope's resistance to the House of France be looked upon by Christendom, when it is known that Louis XI. has manifested his perfect obedience by revoking the Pragmatic Sanction, and has also promised such great assistance in the war against the Turks? Will it not be said that Pius II. has abdicated his position as head of the nations, and no longer concerns himself with the defence of the Faith?‡

The Pope, indeed, was well aware that the enemies of the Holy See might thus turn the Turkish question to account, but on the other hand he had from the first understood the real value of the magniloquent promises of France regarding this war. Any possibility of misapprehension on the subject was removed when Jouffroy and Chaumont declared that the offers of Louis XI. were made only on condition that his demands in regard to Genoa and Naples should be satisfied.§

* On the 20th March, 1462, B. Bonatto writes to the Marquess of Mantua : "*La Sta. de N. S. tre volte ha dato audientia privata ad essi ambassatori francesi et molte cose sono sta dicte hinc inde ad questo proposito da desistere ad perseverare a questa impresa del Reame. La Sta. N. S. molto ben se iustifica." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 22, State Archives, Milan (in P. E. wrongly given as 1461, Rome).

‡ *Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 26, Ambrosian Library. The ample letter of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, April 6, shews that Pius II. was greatly afraid of French intrigues in regard to ecclesiastical matters. State Archives, Milan.

§ **Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, March 29. Ambrosian Library.

On the 3rd April, after three weeks had been consumed in negotiations, the Count de Chaumont with the Bishop of Saintes left the City.* The Ambassadors saw that they had failed to accomplish the principal object of their mission, and on their way back expressed their vexation in no measured terms. Chaumont, when in Florence, declared that his master would recall all the French prelates from Rome, and revenge himself in such a way as should make the Pope repent.†

A new French Ambassador, the Seneschal of Toulouse, used equally menacing language. Pius II., however, was not alarmed, for he knew on good authority that the Ambassador was not empowered to carry these threats into execution.‡

* *"Questa matina parteno lo rev. vescovo de Santes et lo Mons., de Chiamont ambasiatori de la Mta. del Re di Franza per tornare a quella con la risposta qual per altre mie ho gia scritto, la qual porta Bartolomeo Rivero." Otto de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1462, April 3, State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen. Nicodemus de Pontremoli wrote from Florence on the 31st May, 1462, to Fr. Sforza: *"Li ambaxatori del Re de Franza sono partiti da Roma et del papa hanno havuto quanto hanno saputo chiedere excepto el verbo principal." *Loc. cit.*, P. E. Firenze, II.

† **"El c. de Ciamonte . . . heri gionse qui da Roma . . . dice in effecto che dal papa hanno havute parole assay et effecto nullo bono como anch' hebero de V. Cels., ma chel Re suo fara meraviglie." Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1462, April 9. On the 10th April Nicodemus writes: *"Quel conte de Ciamonte ambaxatore del Re de Franza, che torna da Roma et e venuto in la, ha dicto qui ad chi gli e parso de potersi fidar chel Re de Franza revocara de corte de Roma tucti li prelati e altri cortesani francesi." State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen. See also CUGNONI, 219, and a letter of L. Petronius to Siena of the 5th April, 1462, State Archives, Siena.

‡ PII II. Comment. 207–8; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 338; LEGEAY, I., 303 *seq.* See also the *Despatch of Nicodemus de Pontremoli

During the whole of this time an uninterrupted correspondence was maintained between Pius II. and Louis XI., but their estrangement continued to increase. On one side-question indeed an agreement was arrived at, as Louis XI. gave back to the Church the Countships of Dié and Valence, which had been annexed by the last Count, and retained by Charles VII. In return for this act of restitution Louis was to keep the portions of these territories lying on his side of the Rhone.* Antonio da Noceto was sent to France to take possession of those which were restored to the Holy See. Jouffroy and Louis XI. again proposed a marriage between one of the Pope's nephews and a daughter of the French Monarch. At the same time the prospect of a Franco-Bohemian alliance was used as a bugbear to constrain the Pope to alter his Italian policy; but both the proposal and the menace were fruitless.† By the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction the King had expected not only to win over the Pope to the side of Anjou, but also to acquire the patronage of all the more important ecclesiastical benefices.‡ When this anticipation also proved illusory the irritation of Louis knew no bounds. He wrote an insolent letter to the Pope and Cardinals in which he criticised all the acts of Pius II.'s government, and even accused him of fomenting divisions among the

to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1462, May 29, State Archives, Milan, P. E.

* RAYNALDUS, ad. an. 1462, N. 12–13; VOIGT, III., 200; FANTONI, I., 337 *seq.*

† Report of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, January 13, Ambrosian Library. Regarding the Franco-Bohemian Alliance, see *infra*, chap. 5.

‡ GUETTÉE, VIII., 20. See BASIN-QUICHERAT, I., XXXVI., and SICKEL, Frankreich und Burgund um die Mitte des 15 Jahrhunderts, in the Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, 17 (Wien, 1858).

Princes of Christendom, instead of uniting them for the Turkish war as he professed to do.* The Pope sent Nuncios, and wrote several autograph letters to appease the wrath of Louis. All was in vain, chiefly owing to the machinations of Cardinal Jouffroy, who, fearing the discovery of his own intrigues, was more bitter even than the King against Pius II., and kept constantly fanning the flame.† Amongst other serious charges against Jouffroy contained in the Memoirs, the Pope accuses him of having misrepresented to him the contents of Royal letters, and attributed to the King desires which he had never entertained, and in his reports falsely represented the Pope as an enemy of the French Dynasty, and untrue to his word.‡

In the autumn of 1463 the relations between Louis XI. and Rome were strained to the uttermost, and alarming rumours were daily arriving from France. The King was said to have behaved very rudely to Cardinals Longueil and Alain. It was reported that the Bishoprics of Uzès and Carcassonne, the Abbey of St. Jean d'Angeli and other benefices, which the latter held *in commendam*, had been sequestrated. Certain Royal Edicts, directly opposed to the rights of the Holy See, were said to have been issued. It is thought, wrote the Envoy of Mantua on the 4th October, 1463, from Rome, that the King will renew the Pragmatic Sanction; he writes angry letters to the Pope in defence of Jouffroy, who is, he affirms, set aside because he does his duty! §

The King did not, indeed, go so far as to re-establish

* Pii II. Comment. 323–4; Voigt, III., 203.

† Fierville, 127.

‡ Cugnoni, 230 *seq.*

§ Report of P. Arrivabene of the 4th October, 1463, in Appendix N. 59, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the law of 1438; but on the other hand, from 1463, he did his best to recover that which he had yielded in the previous year. In 1463 and 1464, a number of Decrees were issued "to defend ourselves against the aggressions of Rome, and for the restoration of the ancient Gallican liberties," by which most of the concessions obtained in the revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction were nullified. Pius II. complains in his Memoirs that the hostility to the Church manifested by Louis in these Decrees far exceeded his former loyalty and zeal in the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction.* The conduct of the King in regard to two benefices which had fallen vacant in Angers and in Paris at the end of 1463 or beginning of 1464 is another instance of the high-handed tone which he now assumed. He requested the Pope to confer them upon Jean Balue, adding that this favourite had already taken possession of them, and that he would himself defend him against all opponents! Pius II. refused, and asked the King if he would suffer any one to say to him, "Give me this castle freely, or I will take it by force."†

From the time that Louis' antagonism to the Pragmatic Sanction had cooled, a good understanding had existed between him and the national party among the French clergy, who thus unconsciously aided the King in weaving the "web in which he purposed to entangle them" and to destroy the independence which he professed to defend against the aggressions of the Pope.‡

Cardinal Jouffroy left Rome to return to France on the

* Pii II. Comment. 324; Voigt, III., 208; here, as also in Guettée, VIII., 24, Fierville, 129 *seq.*, Legeay, I., 327, further details regarding the Royal Decrees may be found. See also Phillips, Das Regalienrecht in Frankreich, 168 *seq.* (Halle, 1873).

† Cugnoni, 144–5.

‡ Reumont, III., 1, 142.

24th October, 1463.* Some curiosity may have been felt as to the reception he would meet with from Louis. He was detested by the Parisians, who had made him the subject of many satires and caricatures, and when he entered the city no one took any notice of him. But the King shewed him the greatest favour.† He knew that this man would now enter into his anti-Roman policy with no less zeal than that which he had formerly displayed in the opposite direction. King Louis and Cardinal Jouffroy were a well-matched pair.

Besides the revival of the so-called Gallican liberties, Louis had, in the Turkish question, another means of revenging himself on the Pope. The manner in which he thwarted the great designs of Pius II. in this important matter will appear in the sequel.

While the monarchical power in France was thus gathering up all the forces of the nation to subserve its own ends, the mortal sickness which, to use the words of Nicholas of Cusa, had attacked the Holy Roman Empire, was making ceaseless progress. "God help us," writes a contemporary, "the whole Empire is so shattered and torn on all sides that it nowhere holds together. Cities against Princes, Princes against cities, wage endless wars, and no one is of too low estate to challenge his neigh-

* See CUGNONI, 232–3. The exact date is given in the *Acta Consist., f. 31b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Mém. of J. DE CLERCQ, V., c. 4., Jouffroy is described as "grand orateur et grand promecteur, mais peu tenoit ce qu'il promectoit : il estoit fort convoiteulx et ne lui estoit rien impossible à entreprendre, mais qu'il y euist prouffit." Here is also a notice regarding the play performed by the Parisian scholars in which rats gnawed the seals of the Pragmatic Sanction and then got red heads (Cardinals' hats). There is a better satire on Jouffroy in BALUZE, Miscell., IV., 29–30 (Lucae, 1764).

bour. There is no quiet corner in the whole of Germany; turn where you will, you have to guard against ambush, robbery, and murder; the clergy enjoy no peace, the nobility no honour."*

Amidst this general confusion two princely factions became prominent, one of which, assuming a threatening attitude towards the Emperor, demanded Reform. At the head of this party, which pursued its own selfish ends under the cloak of the renovation of the Empire, were the two Princes of the House of Wittelsbach, Frederick I. the Victorious, Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, and Louis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut. The champion of the other party, who found it profitable to pursue their own interests under the shelter of the Imperial authority, was Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg. Albert, "the clever man of Brandenburg,"

> "Whose inventions so subtle
> Are fathom'd by none,"

surpassed all contemporary German Princes, not only in statesmanship and decision, but also in cunning. The fundamental idea of his policy was, with the help of the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain the chief magistracy of the Empire, and to make Franconia a Duchy and the chief Principality between the Maine and the Danube.†

The House of Wittelsbach was his natural opponent, but its downfall seemed at hand when in June, 1459, the Emperor Frederick III. outlawed Duke Louis of Bavaria for having violently seized upon the free Imperial City of Donauwörth. Albert Achilles undertook to carry out the sentence. At this perilous crisis Pius II. sent his Nuncios

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 134. See Beiträge, 205.

† DROYSEN, II., 1, 207. See BACHMANN, I., 10, 17, and Deutsche Biographie, I., 243 *seq.*; FEEFER, 60 *seq.*

to an assembly held at Nuremberg in July, 1459, and succeeded in restoring peace.* This, however, was of short duration, and the beginning of 1460 witnessed the outbreak of a war between the houses of Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern, which soon devastated a great part of Germany.

Just at this time Cardinal Bessarion came thither provided with the most ample powers for the promotion of the Turkish war and the pacification of the Empire. This mission undertaken by the devoted Cardinal at the age of sixty-five, and in the depth of winter, is justly described by his biographer "as a martyrdom."†

* KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig der Reiche, 104–6.

† PLATINA, Panegyricus in laudem Bess.; BANDINIUS in Migne, clxi. pp. xxix.–xxx.; VOIGT, III., 220; SINNACHER, VI., 506. The four volumes of Letters and Documents regarding Bessarion's German and Venetian Missions, mentioned by BANDINIUS, but not utilised by him or by VAST, are in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. I first of all found in Arm. xxxv. two of these volumes; Tom. 134 is described as Car$^{lis.}$ Bessarionis Bullae. There is a good index at the beginning: Infrascripta est tabula registri seu bullarum registratarum per ordinem concessarumque per rev. d.d. Card. Nicenum legatum in legatione Germanica sive Alamanica. The volume begins with a Bulla Bessarionis, dat. Norimberge, Cal. Marcii, 1460, and concludes f. 104b, with another, dated Wienne, 1461, September 8. Tom. 135, also described as Card. Bessarionis Bullae, contains Documents of the years 1464–72, arranged without any order, but also belonging to the period of the Greek Cardinal's Mission to Germany (*e.g.*, dated Norimberge, Dec. Cal. Martii, A^{o} 1460), 117 pages in all without an index. Three other volumes of Bessarion's Documents, of which we shall speak in our account of the Cardinal's Mission to Venice, are preserved in Arm. xxix. and xxxiv. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Of yet greater importance than these Documents, which give us no information regarding the special political labours of Bessarion, is a Collection of his *Original Reports in Arm. xxxix., T. 10, which will hereafter be cited. These are but scanty remains of Bessarion's Reports as Nuncio, but are all the more valuable from the

By the 20th February Bessarion had arrived in Nuremberg, where the Diet agreed upon at Mantua was to be opened on March 2nd.* The Cardinal of Augsburg and the Bishops of Spires and Eichstätt attended as Commissioners from the Emperor. Of the German Princes, Albert Achilles, who was desirous of keeping up a peaceful appearance, alone was present. Duke Louis had sent his Councillors, merely charging them to make complaints of the bad faith of the Margrave.† The Greek Cardinal in a striking exhortation urged upon all the preservation of peace which Christ had bequeathed to his disciples. The divisions of the Christian Princes had, he declared, increased the power of the Turks to its present extent. It would be a scandal if Germany did nothing to oppose the enemies of the Cross. The bad example alone would do incalculable harm.‡

extreme dearth of Reports of the period. On the 13th January, 1460, Bessarion received, "flor. auri de camera duo milia pro sua provisione, quatuor mens." *Div. Pii II., 1458–60, f. 137, State Archives, Rome.

* Müllner's statement, adopted by Voigt, III., 220, that the Cardinal only reached Nuremberg on the 28th February, is erroneous, for a *Document of Bessarion, dated Nuremberg, 1460, February 20, is in existence. Arm. xxxv., T. 135, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Kluckhohn, Herzog Ludwig, 137; Städtechroniken, X. 245. The statements of Bachmann, Böhmen, 182, regarding those present are incorrect in part. See the extract in Hasselholt-Stockheim, taken from the Bamberg Archives.

‡ *Bessarion's discourse in Plut., LIV., Cod. 2, f. 232–44 of the Laurentian Library, Florence. He says: "Non concipitis animo, non cogitatis principes illustres quam nocive, quam graves damnosque reipublice christiane fuerint et sint christianorum principum simultates atque dissensiones? Quid aliud maximam christianorum potentiam minuit, Turcorum vero magnam ex minima effecit?" The conclusion of the discourse is as follows: "Ut igitur honorem quem cupitis vel

These words unfortunately fell upon deaf ears, for the thoughts of all were absorbed in the struggle now imminent between the Wittelsbach party and that of the Hohenzollern. Those present, as a contemporary chronicler informs us, did nothing "but blame and revile one another."* Even when Cardinal Carvajal wrote from Hungary, telling of a fresh incursion of the Turks, and Bessarion, with tears, implored them to unite in taking up arms against the enemy, no impression was made. The utmost he could obtain was to induce them to agree that another Assembly should meet at Worms on the 25th March.

Meanwhile war had already broken out on the Rhine, in Suabia and Franconia, and as Bessarion journeyed to Worms he saw its sad traces. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the Diet at that city was as fruitless as the one of Nuremberg had been.†

cupere debetis et gloriam veram assequamini bella contra fidei hostes geratis, inter vos pacem amplectamini, pacem diligite principes excellentes ad quam vobis acquirendam atque restituendam omnem laborem, omnen diligentiam, omnem denique curam me bono animo, zelo ac fide serviturum polliceor cum ut iussa pontificis maximi exequar, tum ut rem gratam Deo, vobis utilem christianeque reipublice necessariam efficiam illius adiutorio fretus qui omnium bonorum operum auctor est cuiusque gratia co-operante finis optatus in quaque re attingitur." This discourse is also to be found in Cod. Vat., 4037, p. 1, Vatican Library.

* Speierische Chronik, 439. See Bessarion's complaints in his letter to King George in PALACKY, Beiträge, 229.

† See JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 144 *seq.* Regarding Bessarion's journey, see VOIGT, III., 221 and Städtechroniken, X., 247. Here and in the Nachrichten der historischen Commission, III., 4, p. 145, the safe-conduct granted by him on the 16th March to the Nuremberg Jews, in Cod. Germ., fol. 370 of the National Museum at Pesth, is referred to as bearing witness to Bessarion's presence in Nuremberg; a second *Document of Bessarion dated Nurenberge,

"Deeply dejected and discouraged, Bessarion informed the Pope of his failure and returned to Nuremberg. As Hungary could look for no external aid, Pius II. was most anxious that at least her own forces should be available for the defence of the young King." Accordingly, as early as the 28th March, he earnestly requested the King of Bohemia to use his influence to restrain the Emperor from all attacks on Hungary. On the 20th April, while in Nuremberg, the Cardinal Legate received a Brief from the Pope, "which, together with words of consolation and encouragement, contained an express charge to use all possible diligence in supporting King George." Meanwhile Pius II., distrusting the powers of the sickly and irritable Legate, commanded the able jurist, Francis of Toledo, to repair to the Imperial Court in order to influence Frederick III. The negotiations, however, had already broken down before Bessarion had time to take part in them.*

According to the decision taken at Mantua, the Diet ought to have assembled at the Imperial Court on the 30th March. But, on account of the war, Bessarion had been constrained, much against his will, to consent to its postponement until the 11th of May.†

The Cardinal left Nuremberg in good time, and on the 7th May reached Vienna, where he was honourably

XVI. Marcii 1460, is in Arm. xxxv., T. 134 (see *supra*), Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 184–5; this author, like VOIGT, III., 222, is mistaken in stating that Bessarion only reached Nuremberg on the 20th April. See Städtechroniken, X., note 247.

† PALACKY, Beiträge, 227. Regarding Bessarion's vexation, see the *Brief addressed to him by Pius II., dated Macerati [1460] May 5, Lib. brev. 9, f. 201b–202, Secret Archives of the Vatican. A passage from this is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 86.

received by the Emperor.* The opening of the Diet, however, was impossible, for, instead of the Princes who were expected, only a few Ambassadors had arrived, and these few were not furnished with adequate instructions.

A further postponement until the 1st of September was inevitable. The Pope and his Legate, as well as Frederick III., issued urgent letters of invitation to this Assembly.† Nevertheless, not one of the Princes appeared at the time appointed. Several weeks again were spent in anxious expectation, and not till the 17th September was the Diet opened.

Meanwhile Albert of Brandenburg, whose allies did little or nothing for him, had succumbed. On the 23rd

* Chron. Austr. in SENCKENBERG, V., 3; PLATINA, Panegyricus, etc.; MAILATH, III., Appendix, p. 94. In the early part of his sojourn in Vienna, Bessarion appears to have had some hope; this is shewn by a Brief of Pius II. addressed to him, dated XIII. Jun. A° 2° [1460], in which are these words: *" Laetamur Circ. tuam incolumem pervenisse ad Imperialem Celsitudinem et de rebus Alamanie non malam spem habere cepisse. Hoc enim aliquantulum nos recreavit anxios tam diuturna malorum continuacione. Non dubitamus quin diligencie tue sit ascribendum quidquid inde boni sequetur." Lib. brev. 9, f. 202, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 85; Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 44–5; Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Wien, 1850, II., 655–6; PALACKY, Beiträge, 227–30. The original of Bessarion's letter of Invitation to the City of Cologne (with seal impressed on the back and fastening the letter) dated Vienna, 1460, June 1 (almost identical with that to King George), is in the Archives of that city. Bessarion employed the interim in striving to establish peace in Germany (see THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 359). Pius II. especially commended the moderation of the Cardinal, who abstained from pronouncing censures. "*Laetamur quoque a stringendis censuris tua prudencia temperatum neque enim sine contemptu ap. sedis et scandalo partis alterius poterant exerceri. Moderatio tua nobis et ipsi rei aptissima satisfecit." Brief of July 31, 1460, to Bessarion, Lib. brev. 9, f. 130, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

June, 1460, he had been obliged to sign the treaty of Roth, which was so unfavourable to his interests that his "eyes filled with tears," as it was sealed. The harshness of its conditions made Pius II. fear that the peace would be of short duration.*

Even more distressing to Albert was the defection of Archbishop Diether of Mayence which soon followed. On the 4th July, 1460, Diether was defeated at Pfeddersheim near Worms by the Count Palatine Frederick, who constrained him to enter into alliance with him. The Archbishop's motive in thus changing sides from the Hohenzollern party to that of Wittelsbach was the hope that the Princes who were in opposition would afford him more support against Pius II. than he could have obtained from his former friends.†

Diether of Isenburg belongs to that class of ecclesiastics of whom a Rhenish chronicler of the fifteenth century says: "Alas! with most Bishops the sword has supplanted the crosier; Bishoprics are sought after chiefly for the sake of the temporal power they confer. Spirituality is now the rarest of qualities in a dignitary of the Church."‡

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 80. The date of July 31, 1460, which is here wanting, is found in the * Lib. brev. 9, f. 130, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† K. MENZEL, Deutsche Biographie, V., 164, and Diether, 66 *seq.*

‡ JANSSEN, in the Theologischer Literaturblatt, III., 334, cites this passage from an unpublished Chronicle and observes: "These abuses had arisen and increased especially since the time when the Cathedral Chapters were arbitrarily and unjustly filled entirely by the nobles. In order to keep these nobles, who were not inclined to bow to an inferior or an equal, somewhat in check, it had become almost necessary to favour the elevation of Bishops and Archbishops belonging to the great families. By this means worldly elements were more and more introduced into the Episcopate; Monasteries became involved in the family conflicts and feuds of their princely and noble inmates; the ecclesiastical office was looked upon as a sinecure."

Diether, who was born about 1412, appears as a Canon at Mayence as early as the year 1427. Besides holding prebends in the Cathedrals of Cologne and Treves, he was, in 1442, appointed Provost of the Collegiate Churches of St. Victor and St. John in Mayence. In 1453 he became Custos in the Cathedral Chapter of that city. But these dignities did not suffice to satisfy the ambition of a man who was so ignorant that he scarcely knew a word of Latin. In 1465 he was a candidate for the Archbishopric of Treves, but the majority of the electors preferred the Margrave John of Baden.* On the death of Dietrich I., Archbishop of Mayence, on the 6th May, 1459, Diether was again an eager aspirant for the vacant post. This time his efforts were successful and he obtained the coveted position of an independent Prince with territory and subjects. On the 18th June† he was elected Archbishop by a compromise, said to be simoniacal, giving him a majority of one vote over Adolph of Nassau.‡ Three days after his elevation, in consequence of the Election Capitulation, he was obliged to renew the league which his predecessors had concluded with Albert Achilles and Ulrich of Wurtemberg against the Count Palatine Frederick. Owing to the party position in which he was thus placed from the very first, the Papal Confirmation

* JOANNIS, I., 771; II., 223, 234, 312, 622; MENZEL, Diether, 20; SIMON, Gesch. von Isenburg-Büdingen, II., 217 (Frankfort, 1865).

† See JOANNIS, I., 772. The 18th of June is also named by WIMPHELING in his *Chronik der Mainzer Erzbischöfe, f. 28, MS. in the Castle Library at Aschaffenburg.

‡ MENZEL, who is prejudiced in favour of his hero, rejects the idea that the election of Diether was obtained by bribery (Diether, 20), while VOIGT, III., 269, does not consider this by any means improbable, although the charge was not made until years after the event. SUGENHEIM, Gesch. des Deutschen Volkes, III., 666, and DROYSEN, II., 1, 154, also assert that there was bribery.

was a matter of the greatest importance to him. He accordingly at once despatched Envoys to Mantua, where Pius II. was holding the Congress.

Immediately on hearing of the departure of this mission the Pope sent word to Diether that if he sought to obtain Confirmation he must present himself in person at the Papal Court.* But the Archbishop took no notice of this admonition, even when it was soon afterwards reiterated.† Pius II. was already much annoyed at the non-arrival of the Princes summoned to the Congress, and this disregard of his expressed wishes on the part of a petitioner was not calculated to soothe his irritation. He made many difficulties regarding the Confirmation of the Election, and the grant of the Pallium, and he is said to have required Diether's Envoys to pledge their master to support the levy of the tithe on all ecclesiastical revenues in the Empire, and to promise that he would never press for a Council or consent to a general Assembly of the States of the Empire without Papal permission.‡ It cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the Pope really imposed these conditions; in any case they were not again mentioned.

* See the text of this hitherto unknown Brief of 31st July, 1459, in Appendix N. 19, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Brief of Pius II., of 13th August, 1459. See Appendix N. 22, Laurentian Library, Florence. See Appendix N. 23.

‡ This account is given by Diether, in his defence, written in 1461, and in his Manifesto of 1462, against Adolph (MÜLLER, II., 39 *seq.* and 113 *seq.*), personal writings which can hardly be regarded as historical evidence in regard to facts. Nevertheless MENZEL, referring to these (Diether, 25) remarks: "I have no scruple in believing him." HÄUSSER, I., 365, considers Diether's complaint as probable, but justly observes that it is impossible to say whether it was well-grounded. The Reports of the Mayence Envoys, which, as yet, are undiscovered, might furnish us with the means of arriving at a decision on the matter.

The active support of the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg in Mantua did much to promote Diether's success. A second mission from Mayence received the Bull of Confirmation and the Pallium, after having solemnly sworn that within a year Diether would appear in person, and that the Annates claimed by the Apostolic Treasury should be paid. The Treasury estimated the expenses of the Confirmation at 20,550 Rhenish florins,* a sum which the Envoys do not seem "to have considered at all so excessive" as Diether afterwards represented it to be. Roman money-lenders advanced the amount, the Envoys giving a bond. When the Pope's portion was paid, the Cardinals and inferior members of the Court also bound themselves to reimburse the money-lenders in case Diether should not discharge his debt."†

Diether failed to fulfil a single one of the conditions on which the Confirmation had been granted. He did not appear at the Papal Court, he protested against the amount of the Annates, and refused to pay them.‡ When the time allowed for the payment had elapsed, the Papal

* MENZEL, Diether, 28 and 69, says 20,650 Rhenish florins, but Codex 1095, f. 46, of the University Library at Leipzig (which he adduces in opposition to the erroneous version of SENCKENBERG, IV., 393 *seq.*) has XX^{m} V^{c} L, which admits of no interpretation save that of the text.

† VOIGT, III., 271–2, gives the proofs. The sum of 20,501 florins mentioned by him, rests upon Senckenberg's mistaken reading. The name of one of the money-lenders (Alessandro Miraballo) appears in a letter of Alessandro Gonzaga of 29th April, 1461, in PORTIOLI, 25.

‡ BACHMANN, Böhmen, 210, is of opinion that "although the money-lenders at the Papal Court had made the payment for him," Diether might fairly object to cover the amount. Against this view it will suffice to state VOIGT'S judgment: "As surely as he who gives full power of action is bound by the deed of his agent, so surely had Diether lost all right of objecting to the amount of the Annates which had already been paid."

Judge pronounced the sentence of lesser excommunication; in spite, however, of this censure the Archbishop continued to be present at public worship, and even to officiate. When, soon after, the Diet met at Vienna, the first ecclesiastical Elector of the Empire appeared as the leader of the opposition against the Pope.

None of the German Princes thought of personally attending this Assembly. Many of the cities, as, for example, Mayence and Wetzlar, did not even send representatives, excusing themselves on the score of their poverty and the insecurity of the times.* Bessarion lost heart so completely that Pius II. found it necessary to exhort him to be patient.† Events fully justified the apprehensions of the aged Cardinal. Not one of the Princes arrived, for, says the Chronicle of Spires, "they had too many quarrels among themselves on their hands to want another with the Turks."‡ The worst dispositions prevailed in the assembly, and the reading of the Bull conferring plenary powers upon Bessarion contributed to aggravate these. This document, without

* See *Letter of Mayence to the Envoys from Cologne and Frankfort journeying to the Imperial Diet, dated 1460, August 6 (City Archives of Frankfort, Reichssachen, 5195), and *Letter of Wetzlar to Frankfort, dated 1460, August 11 (*ibid.*, Kaiserschreiben, IV., 196).

† Brief to Bessarion, dated Corsignano [1460], September 12: "Accepimus litteras dat. XXIII. August." Two fragments are given in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 58 and 80. After "diligere" in the latter, follow the words: "Fraternitas tua pacienter omnia perferat et in malis que accidunt pro consuetudine sua eligat minima mala." Lib. brev. 9, f. 139, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Speierische Chronik, 446. The list of those present which SCHILTER, II., Appendix, 106 *seq.*, gives, without reference to his authority, is from the City Archives at Strasburg, where I saw it in fasc. A.A. 208.

reference "to the consent of the Diet, simply directed the Legate to carry out the Papal commands."* The Envoys accordingly felt called upon to defend their right and to take counsel together and come to a decision regarding the expedition against the infidel, and the tax for the war. Their spokesman was Heinrich Leubing, Diether's representative, who eagerly availed himself of this opportunity of resisting the Pope. It was, Leubing declared, "a praiseworthy usage and custom that when a matter so high and great, affecting the Christian faith or the Holy Roman Empire, was to be considered, this should be done by His Imperial Majesty with the Council of his Electors." A fresh Diet must therefore be held.†

"In vain did Bessarion labour to influence the deputies, both privately in his own abode and collectively in their public sittings, and to awaken some enthusiasm and devotion to the holy Cause." The prospect of success grew fainter and fainter. His one consolation was the Emperor's readiness to comply with the Pope's demands, but the only result of this was that the Assembly now turned against Frederick.

Conscious of the purity of his own motives, the Greek Cardinal became more and more embittered by the obstinate opposition of the Envoys. The terrible fate which threatened his fellow-countrymen filled him with an ardent desire to render assistance as soon as possible. "Unfortunately he was utterly wanting in self-control. Regardless of his office and of his dignity, he poured forth menaces and invectives against the German Princes, and cast doubts on their good-will towards the holy

* VOIGT, III., 225.

† KÖNIG VON KÖNIGSTHAL, I., 141–2. LOOSE in the Mittheil. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Meissen, 1883, I., 34 *seq.*, has begun to publish a biography of H. Leubing.

Cause." The Envoys answered in a similar tone and left the Diet.*

Bessarion in his grief and disappointment now begged to be recalled. But Pius II. would not take such a step without first consulting his Cardinals. They were utterly opposed to it, and to any interruption of the negotiations. On the 4th November, 1460, Pius II. imparted their decision to his Legate.† "God's honour," he said, "and the honour of the Apostolic See require that we should be steadfast in hope, using every means by which the minds of men may be led to better counsels. If others withdraw from the work, it does not become us to follow their example. Perseverance in good leads to good even those who are ill disposed, and hearts that are now depraved may not be so always. The conversion of men is wrought by a hidden power, and the way of salvation often opens where no one expects it. Your departure would give a great advantage to our enemies. If the cause of Christendom seems despaired of, they will believe that everything already belongs to them, and will be more audacious in attacking us, and it will be hard for the faithful to stand firm if their hope grows faint. The

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 202 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 72–4; VOIGT, III., 224 *seq.* See also regarding the Diet, FELS, 7 and 86.

† The Brief is given as a whole, sine loco et anno, in MAILATH III., Appendix, pp. 143–151; incompletely in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 26, but with the date, "3 Junii, A° 3°." Raynaldus has made use of the copy preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, * Lib. brev. 9, where the Brief stands as f. 256b (not f. 259), but here the conclusion is merely: "Dat., etc." The previous Briefs are also undated, the last of the preceding documents, which bears a date, is one of 3rd June, which must have been the cause of Raynaldus' date. VOIGT'S supposition (III., 233) that the said Brief belongs to January, 1461, is also a mistake. I found the correct date in Lib. brev. 9, f. 193b–196; here the Brief is again given, with the addition: "Dat. Romae, IIII., Nov^{br}., A° 3°," which is undoubtedly correct.

Hungarians also have hitherto been restrained rather by shame than by good-will. They may seize upon this opportunity as an excuse and conclude a peace or a truce with the Turks. The disgrace then would be ours, and not that of the Germans. You know how calumnies pursue good deeds. It is therefore all the more needful, now that the negotiations have been broken off, a thing which has in itself a bad appearance, that we should aim at maintaining the reputation of the Church, and act in such a manner that the servants of the Holy See may not be blamed. Moreover, as in many places, the subsidies determined on at Mantua have been carefully collected, the perverse would take occasion from this to complain, and the dilatory would make it an excuse for altogether withholding their assistance; and thus all would fail us. Finally, as we have so often proclaimed to you, to our brethren and to the world that we will only give up the work of the Diet with life itself, our words would appear nothing but empty boasting devoid of truth and steadfastness. The glory of God, the salvation of Christendom and the liberation of your oppressed country are at stake. You can labour with great merit in this cause, both by preserving peace and by the conduct of business. Therefore, worthy brother, we encourage you to persevere until some good result appears. Let our beloved son, John Cardinal Carvajal, who is now in the fifth year of his labours as Legate, and champion of the faith, serve for your consolation and example."

In this same Brief Pius II. reverts to a bold proposal which he had already made to his Legate on the 11th October.* It was that the warlike head of the Wittelsbach party should receive the banner of the faith and of

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 89; VOIGT, III., 232.

the Empire, insist on the payment of the tithe by the clergy, and equip the army. Should he refuse,* the Legate was to turn to one of the other German Princes; if need were, as he himself had once said in Mantua, he must "beg for soldiers from door to door. If all fails, we will take this course and diligently pursue it as our last possible hope; meanwhile consider the ways and means of carrying it out and impart to us in writing what appears to you best fitted to promote the end in view." Bessarion's Reports are unfortunately missing. The Secret Archives of the Vatican contain only one letter from him referring to the matter. This was written on the 29th March, 1461; it justifies his proceedings, especially in regard to the question of the tithe, and gives a most interesting picture of the German situation.†

In order to understand this letter, we must bear in mind that Pius II., in view of the threatening storm, and acting on the conviction that the opposition of the German Princes was chiefly occasioned by pecuniary considerations, sent two Legates to Germany, charged

* From an undated *Brief to Bessarion, as well as from other sources, we gather that the Pope leaned to the Count Palatine. In the Brief are the following words: "De Palatino nil aliud dicimus nisi quod fiat voluntas Dei. Frigescentibus ad opera bona nunquam excusatio defuit. Nos in multis malis consolationem hanc ferimus quod aliis deficientibus nobis nos illis non desimus magisque culpare possumus quam culpari." Lib. brev. 9, f. 200b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† I found the original of this remarkable **Document in Tom. 10 of Arm. xxxix. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. This valuable collection of autograph Letters, to which I have already referred, p. 159, note †, *supra*, extends to 1480, it includes several letters from Ammanati, some of which have been published, and *Reports from Bessarion regarding his Mission to Venice in 1463, which we shall hereafter cite.

with reassuring explanations concerning the tithes. Moreover, on the 12th February, 1461, he sent the Cardinal of Augsburg to conduct the affair.* On the 4th March, Bessarion was instructed to recall any order which he might have issued concerning the tithes, and to make it generally known alike by word and by letter that it was not the Pope's intention to demand anything without the consent of the nation.† Bessarion replied from Vienna on the 29th March. "The excuses of the German Princes are vain and empty pretexts. In regard to the tithes I have said no more than what I have already written to your Holiness. I represented the extraordinary outlay of the Holy See for the cause of the Faith, to which I added the declaration that your Holiness does not demand from the German Princes the tithes, but the promised army. It is true that in a fatherly way I complained and admonished and counselled them as became one who had the matter much at heart. But I have not proceeded beyond remonstrances, or issued any commands regarding the levy of the tithe which, according to your instructions, I should have to recall. Their charges against me were therefore unfounded in this respect. Meanwhile, if I have wronged them in anything, it is only because they had desired that, for their excuse and justification, I should accuse the Emperor and lay everything to his charge. They had already, at that time, begun to work in secret against Frederick III., as it appeared afterwards. Seeing that for cogent reasons I would not yield to them, I became the object of their hatred; they looked upon me as quite devoted to the

* Regarding the mission of the Nuncios, see *infra*, p. 199. The Brief to the Cardinal of Augsburg in Cod. 519, f. 249 of the Munich Library is mentioned by VOIGT, III., 246.

† *Lib. brev. 9, f. 233b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Emperor. In this they were by no means mistaken. I have the highest esteem for Frederick III., because I know how greatly your Holiness and the Emperor are attached to one another. This is the cause of their dissatisfaction, and they say it quite openly. Many other convincing proofs of these things are before your Holiness, amongst them the extravagances which have lately been widely circulated from the pen of the shameless heretic, Gregor Heimburg. I had scarcely the patience to read them once, and then threw them away, and I will not send them to your Holiness. Did I not know that You are well aware that the causes of this agitation are other than the tithe question, I should perish with grief. Yet, Holy Father, many causes have combined to produce this state of things. First, the disgraceful ingratitude of Diether. I will now speak freely of this man, in whose house, as Rudolf of Rüdesheim informed me on my return from Worms to Mayence, Rome is daily reviled by that crazy Dominican Bishop who came to Mantua about his Confirmation, as well as by his other companions. I bring a witness; your Holiness can examine him at your pleasure. Then came the excommunication of the Archbishop of Mayence on account of the Annates, whereupon he became so excited that he threatened to move heaven and earth. He and the rest utterly disregard this excommunication. He also seeks to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor who was by no means devoted to the Holy See. Who was better acquainted with these intrigues than your Holiness, whose task it formerly was to frustrate them? From the appeal of the Princes it is evident that they do not complain of the tithes alone, but also of the Annates, Indulgences and pretended extortions of various kinds. They are also constantly stirred up by France and the perpetual

complaints of Duke Sigismund. Concerning the tithes I have, as I informed your Holiness in two letters, taken sufficient care in the matter. For the rest it would be very well to send new Ambassadors, capable of settling the affair with prudence and discretion. As the Diet to be held in Frankfort is put off until Trinity Sunday, the Ambassadors might with advantage be charged in the meantime to visit the Princes individually and to treat with each in particular."*

A short time after this report was written, Pius II. had himself arrived at the conviction that Germany was lost to the cause of the war. "I perceive," he wrote to Bessarion on the 2nd May, 1461, "that almost everything for which you were sent to Germany being hopeless, the reconciliation of the Emperor with the King of Hungary is now your only remaining duty."† But the sufferings entailed on the sickly Cardinal by these numerous journeys were aggravated by vexation and the severity of the climate,‡ and he hailed with joy the truce of Laxenburg (6th September, 1461), which permitted him to bid farewell to the Imperial Court and quit the barbarous country where "no one cared for Latin and Greek."§

* **Original Report of Bessarion to Pius II., dated Vienna, 1461, March 29, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. xxxix., T. 10, f. 3.

† MAILATH, III., Appendix, p. 152, gives the Brief with the date of May 2nd, while KAPRINAI, II., 491, has the 20th. The former date must be the correct one; in the *Lib. brev. 9, f. 209b no year is assigned to the Brief, but it is preceded by a document dated "II. Maii A° 3°."

‡ VOIGT, III., 233.

§ *On the 28th September, 1461, Bessarion informed his friend Ammanati that he had taken leave of the Emperor and commenced his return journey, but the state of his health made it necessary for him to travel slowly. (Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. xxxix., T. 10.) Bessarion did not arrive at Bologna until the 23rd October; see

In his Report to the Pope on the 29th March, 1461, Bessarion speaks of the Archbishop of Mayence and Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol as the chief authors of confusion in Germany. Some further details must be added in regard to the proceedings of these two.

The mischievous action of the Envoy from Mayence at the Diet of Vienna was a foretaste of the future. Before the conclusion of the year 1460, Diether of Isenburg and the Count Palatine Frederick, bound themselves to assist George Podiebrad, who aspired to become King of the Romans. The compact between Diether and the King of Bohemia was concluded in the early days of December. Podiebrad, in return for the support of his pretensions to the Crown of Germany, was obliged to promise that he would establish at Mayence a supreme Court of the Empire, to be called a Parliament, would preserve peace and unity, and as soon as possible, with the advice of the Electors, undertake an expedition against the Turks. He promised not to sanction the levy of the tithe, nor any other tribute imposed by Pope or Council; he undertook to cause a General Council to be assembled in a German city on the Rhine, and there to "repeat and administer" the Basle Decrees, especially those concerning Confirmations, Annates and the jurisdiction of the Roman Court, to take care that the Pope should claim from Diether for the Pallium no larger sum than was customary, and, finally, with his people to abandon the Utraquist heresy and return to the Roman Church.*

Cronica di Bologna, 741, and *Ghirardacci (see *supra*). He reached Rome on the 20th November, 1461, not in January, 1462 (VAST, 253); see *Acta Consist., f. 30, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 280–5; MENZEL, Diether, 88 *seq.*; BACHMANN, Böhmen, 240 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 167–8.

Immediately after the conclusion of this compact an Assembly of the Princes took place at Bamberg, where the opposition to Pope and Emperor was strongly manifested. "Princes and their Envoys spoke with unexampled bitterness against the two heads of Christendom, and, as might have been expected, Diether of Isenburg was the most violent." He it was who laid before the Assembly a document protesting against the demand of ecclesiastical tithes and appealing against all ecclesiastical censures. The Councillors of Saxony and Brandenburg, however, refused to sign this. The King of Bohemia, and Duke Louis of Landshut, led by him, would not hear of any measure against the Pope, and could not be induced to give their signatures to the appeal.* The result of this meeting accordingly in no wise answered the anticipations of Diether and the other opponents of Rome. Violent language against the Holy See was again indulged in at Eger on the following day; but nothing came of it, for Podiebrad contrived to divert the stream of opposition almost entirely from Rome, and turn it against the Emperor.†

Rebuffs of this kind might certainly have taught a lesson of moderation to one of another stamp, but they only roused the passionate Diether, supported by the Count Palatine Frederick, to greater energy in his agitation against the Apostolic See. On the 22nd of February, 1461, he took into his service Gregor Heimburg, the bitterest enemy of Rome and Pius II.‡ This man had already

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 250 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 95 *seq.*; and Gesch. von Nassau, 280 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 169.

† GEBHARDT, 35 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 97 *seq.*; KLUCKHOHN, Ludwig, 170 *seq.*

‡ GEBHARDT, 30; MENZEL, Diether, 105; Annalen d. Ver., f. Nassauische Alterthumskunde, XIII., 179. The original entry in

been excommunicated by the Pope and had done much to aggravate the conflict between Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol and Cardinal Cusa.

The contest in question was closely connected with Cusa's zeal for the liberty and purity of the Church entrusted to his care.

The ecclesiastical troubles of preceding years had paved the way for grievous abuses in the Tyrol, as well as in most parts of Germany, and fearful immorality prevailed amongst clergy and laity.* It was only natural that Cusa, full of zeal as he was for the reform and welfare of his country, should concentrate all his energies on the diocese which had been entrusted to his care in the spring of 1452.† The Cardinal set to work with all the vehemence of his

Vol. 29, f. 102b, of the Mainz-Aschaffenburger Ingrossaturbücher is as follows: * "Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo uf sontag Invocavit zu Nurenberg hat myn gnediger herre doctor Jorgen Heimburg zu nat und diener ufgenomen, dafur sal sin gnaden im jerlichs geben hundert gulden und eyn fuder wins Heymbechs ad relationem magistri Job de Riet legum doctoris." Kreis-Archiv, Würzburg. A dissertation on Heimburg has recently been published at Munich by P. JOACHIMSON. See Hist. Jahrb., X., 883.

* As early as 1419, Bishop Berthold of Brixen complained that evil and abuses were gaining the upper hand in his Diocese (BICKELL, 65), and in 1438 Nicholas Swarat, decanus et in spirit. eccl. Brix. vicarius generalis in a *Document, dated Brixinae, 1438, January 28, strongly condemned the great prevalence of the *crimen concubinatus* in the Diocese, and published the Decree of the Council of Basle on this matter. Cod. 68, f. 117b–118 of the University Library, Innsbruck. See also the complaints of Bishops George II. and John VI., in 1438 and 1449 in BICKELL, 7 and 20. In the face of such testimony it is amusing to read the words of EGGER, Gesch. Tirols, I., 655: "The moral corruption which attacked all ecclesiastical circles in the 14th and 15th centuries could not thrive so rapidly and so luxuriantly in the pure air of our mountains."

† See GRISAR'S Article on BICKELL, Synodi Brix., in the Hist. Jahrb., I., 604 *seq.*, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 62 *seq.* JÄGER,

Rhenish temperament, but the majority of his flock failed to co-operate as they ought to have done in his labours for the true welfare of their country. Cusa was too great for the narrow politics of the Tyrol, the extraordinary powers entrusted to him by Rome were not respected, and conflicts arose on every side.

Difficulties such as these would have damped the courage of an ordinary man, but that of Cusa rose to the occasion. He was resolved at any cost to carry out the reform of his Diocese; his special attention was directed to the Religious Orders, the scandal of whose moral corruption was aggravated by their profession of a life of poverty and self-abnegation. The extent of the evil may be estimated by the violent opposition which the regulations of the new Bishop encountered. The Poor Clares of Brixen in particular were distinguished by the obstinacy of their resistance, and even the intervention of the Holy See was ineffectual. The nuns treated the Papal Brief with as little respect as the Interdict and Excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal.* Experience has long since shewn that the only effectual resource in such cases is the introduction of fresh members thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit, and by this means Cusa at length succeeded in improving the state of the Brixen Convent.† In other places also, as, for example, in the ancient

II., 6, completely misrepresents the situation when he speaks of Cusa's efforts at reform as "a lengthened series of vexations inflicted on the Religious Orders and the whole people of the Tyrol."

* JÄGER, I., 87–9.

† The *Briefs of Calixtus III., for the reform of the Poor Clares of Brixen, mentioned by JÄGER, I., 89, without exact reference, are dated the 28th and 29th April, 1455. Their contents are given in the *Protocollum Brixinense . . . auctore P. Ruffino Laxner Bludentino. MS. fol. in the Provincial Archives of the Franciscans at Hall (formerly at Schwaz).

Premonstratentian Monastery of Wilten, near Innsbruck, he accomplished the necessary reform by summoning monks from a distance.*

Cusa's most serious contest was with the nuns of the Benedictine Convent of Sonnenburg, in the Pusterthal, where a secular spirit had made terrible inroads. The right of jurisdiction over this house was doubtful. A dispute had arisen between the nuns and their dependents in Enneberg, and the former had applied to Duke Sigismund as Governor and Sovereign, and the latter to the Bishop of Brixen. Both Cusa and Sigismund brought the matter before their respective tribunals, and a violent quarrel was the result. Cusa thought it right to cling all the more firmly to his claim of jurisdiction over the Convent as a means of carrying out the ecclesiastical reform which he had so much at heart. This, however, was precisely what the nuns of Sonnenburg were determined to resist. They maintained that the Cardinal had no concern with the reform, but only with the temporalities of the Convent. When he insisted on the observance of the decisions of the Synod held at Salzburg in 1451, especially of those regarding enclosure, they turned to Duke Sigismund for protection. This dissolute Prince was a strange champion for a convent of nuns, but he was equal to the occasion.† The assistance which he promised to the nuns rendered them so stiff-necked that Cusa thought it necessary to

* TINKHAUSER, Beschreibung der Diöcese Brixen, II., 266 *seq.* (Brixen, 1879).

† In 1490 the deputies of the States represented to Sigismund that "the gracious Lord had certainly more than forty sons and daughters who were illegitimate"; see Archiv für Süd-Deutschland, I., 154 (Frankfurt, 1807); Archiv für Œsterreich. Gesch., XLI., 310; *ibid.* 302 *seq.* shows Sigismund to have ultimately become the sport of depraved women.

adopt strong measures. In 1455, the sentence of greater excommunication was pronounced on the obstinate inmates of the convent, who thereupon appealed to the Pope. Calixtus III. disapproved of the Cardinal's severity, and recommended, for the sake of avoiding scandal, that the matter should be amicably adjusted. Cusa, however, would yield nothing, and the nuns persevered in their resistance, relying on the protection of the Duke.*

* JÄGER, I., 41 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*, 158 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; V. GASSER, Das Benediktinerinnenstift Sonnenburg (in the Studien aus dem Benediktinerorden, 1888, p. 48 *seq.*) brings forward nothing new. Jäger in his detailed account, which is followed by all later writers, affirms that Cusa had provoked the contest, "and that he had overstepped the limits of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction" (I., 60 *seq.*) in his letter of admonition of the 2nd May, 1452, but he had issued a similar rescript at Utrecht on the 3rd September, 1451 (see SWALUE, De Cardinal Nicolaas van Cusa en zijne werckzaamheid in Nederland, 147–51, and UEBINGER in Histor. Jahrb., VIII., 653). There is no trace of a domineering spirit in these documents. Their object was simply the reformation of monastic discipline which had unfortunately become terribly lax. It was the duty of the Cardinal to interfere (see Hist.-Pol. Bl., XLIX., 672), and this should have been recognised by Jäger. Yet it cannot be denied that Cusa's proceedings were too violent (in 1458 he caused the rebellious nuns to be turned out of their convent by force of arms); but the obstinate resistance that he met with must be considered. The writer of the documents recently cited by Jäger adopts Sigismund's point of view, and is sometimes far from impartial (see Lit. Handweiser, 1863, p. 144). Yet it must be remarked that he excuses what DR. EGGER (I., 582), the great partisan of Sigismund, styles the "relentless expulsion" of the Poor Clares of Brixen. "The deportation of the nuns," he says, "if it had been less hurriedly effected, does not appear so cruel as might at first sight be imagined." (II., 245). In almost all contested questions, Jäger takes the side of his fellow-countrymen. All that can be said in favour of the Tyrolese is brought prominently forward; and where documentary testimony is wanting he is always ready to think the best of Cusa's opponents,

The Sonnenburg dispute caused the learned Cardinal to make a thorough investigation of the old documents, charters and privileges of his Church. The result of his researches was to convince him of his right to claim the dignity of a Prince of the German Empire, ranking immediately after the King of the Romans. Sigismund declared these pretensions outrageous on the ground that they ignored the legitimate developments of more recent events. The Sonnenburg question soon fell into the background and resolved itself into a contest between the sovereignty which had grown up and the imposing immunities of the early mediæval period.*

Cusa's severity towards the Sonnenburg nuns is hardly surprising when we find that so hostile a spirit soon manifested itself against him as a "stranger," and he seriously thought of abandoning a sphere in which he encountered so many hindrances, and even commenced negotiations for resigning his Bishopric to a Bavarian Prince. The

while facts which favour him are kept in the background. In so full an account, the question how far the Cardinal is supported by the principles of Canon Law should not have been evaded. Jäger's bias also appears in his treatise on the feud of the Gradners (Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, IX., 233 *seq.*). VOIGT, III., 342, observes that "the manner in which Sigismund favoured the Styrian Gradners for a time and then cast them off and plundered them, gives a good idea of his character: no one but a Tyrolese would have excused him on the ground that they were foreigners." My former pupil, Professor Amman, informs me that there are other documents relating to Cusa's labours in the Tyrol, preserved in the Archives of Neustift at Brixen, of which Jäger has made no use in his monograph.

* JÄGER, Gesch. der landständ. Verfassung Tirols, II., 2, 150 (Innsbruck, 1885). The diligence with which Cusa studied his Archives, is evidenced by his numerous autograph notes in the Brixen Book of traditions; see REDLICH, Acta Tirol, I., p. 11 (Innsbruck, 1886).

situation became more and more insupportable. The secular and regular clergy, who had no wish to be reformed, vied with each other in placing difficulties in the way of their Bishop. "Since the rebellion of Jezabel" (the Abbess of Sonnenburg), wrote Cusa to his confidential friend, the Prior of Tegernsee, "the Poor Clares at Brixen have also become incredibly audacious. The Premonstratentians at Wilten, who had begun to walk in the way of salvation, are looking back; my doings are not to the taste of my Cathedral Chapter, for they love the peace of this world. The nobles threaten more and more. The Prince keeps silence or favours my adversaries, and as they cannot yet reach me, they stir up others to violence in order to intimidate me." The common people disregarded the Cardinal's commands even when accompanied by threats of the severest penalties. Under these circumstances "Cusa everywhere suspected plots even against his life, and saw dangers where none really existed."* To escape from these supposed perils he fled in July, 1457, to Andraz, an almost inaccessible mountain fortress in Buchenstein, hired mercenary troops in the Venetian territory, and accused Duke Sigismund to the Pope of intending to take his life. Calixtus III. accordingly threatened the Duke with excommunication, and his dominions with an Interdict. Eight days were allowed him to restore to the Cardinal that perfect liberty and security which he required for the exercise of his pastoral office.†

The Duke on receiving the Pope's Bull applied to a friendly lawyer, and by his advice issued on the 1st November, 1457, a protest against the sentence of the

* JÄGER, I., 130, 141–2.

† *Ibid.*, 255–7.

Holy See, founded, he complained, on a mere rumour, and appealed to the Pope better informed. At the same time he sent a safe-conduct to Cusa signed with his own hand.* There can be no doubt that the friend whose influence induced the Duke to take this momentous step was Gregor Heimburg, the declared enemy of the Holy See. This highly gifted, but violent man, "henceforth became the leading spirit in all the serious opposition" to Rome.† From the time that Heimburg took part in the dispute there was small hope of coming to a satisfactory arrangement. The breach was further widened, and its bitterness intensified by the claims which Cusa's representative urged at the Diet of Bruneck (13th January, 1458). He demanded the restoration of the Castles which had in ancient times been taken from the Church of Brixen, the recognition of the Cardinal as the lawful ruler of the Innthal and Norithal, and the restitution of all fiefs of the Diocese held by Duke Sigismund in these valleys, on the ground that they had escheated. On the 6th of February, 1458, Sigismund made a second appeal accompanying it with a declaration that he did not acknowledge the Interdict. The spirit which at this time prevailed among the Tyrolese clergy is shewn by the fact that the greater number joined in the appeal and paid no heed to the sentence.‡

The death of Calixtus III. summoned Cusa to Rome,

* Cusa, however, rejected this safe-conduct. He was, he informed the Bishop of Chur, in a well-fortified Castle belonging to his Church, and by no means an exile. JÄGER, I., 255–60.

† VOIGT, III., 335; JÄGER, I., 300, and II, 92; SINNACHER, VI., 465; GEBHARDT, 32; HUBER, III., 182, is mistaken in saying that Heimburg first "took a decided part in the contests" in August, 1460, thus completely ignoring his important action at Mantua in 1459 (see *supra*, p. 88).

‡ JÄGER, I., 250–52, 270; SINNACHER, VI., 454; HUBER, III., 180.

where he found his friend Æneas Sylvius, under the title of Pius II., in the chair of St. Peter. The new Pope at once undertook the part of a mediator, and summoned Cusa and Sigismund to appear in his presence at Mantua in November, 1459. The appointment of Gregor Heimburg as his agent was a strange return for the fatherly kindness with which Pius II. received Sigismund. We have already spoken of Heimburg's intrigues against the crusade, and of his abuse of the Pope.* The selection of such a man to conduct negotiations on his behalf was little calculated to promote the restoration of peace, and Cusa's irritation and his claim to the exercise of absolute spiritual and temporal power within the limits of his diocese destroyed any lingering hope of success. Notwithstanding the exasperation of the contending parties, Pius II. still strove to mediate between them, and to bring about an agreement clearly defining the relations between the Bishop of Brixen and the temporal lord of the Tyrol. Sigismund rudely rejected these proposals, he even protested against the competency of the Papal tribunal, and, to the great grief of Pius II., left Mantua on the 29th of November.

In spite of this failure the Pope again resumed the negotiations, but his efforts were frustrated by the persistent and increasing animosity of the two opponents. In March, 1460, at a Synod at Bruneck, Cusa renewed the Interdict which the Pope had suspended for two years, and proceeded to inform the Duke that, in the event of mild measures proving ineffectual, he would make over to the Emperor all the fiefs of the Church of

* See *supra*, p. 88. GEBHARDT, 36, considers the Pope to have manifested extreme goodwill on this occasion. HAGEN, 153, attributes the failure of the Pope's mediation to Heimburg's management of the Duke's affairs.

Brixen. Sigismund then resolved upon an act of violence, and, on Easter Day, caused the unsuspecting Cardinal to be arrested and imprisoned at Bruneck. Cusa was not released until he had signed an unfavourable treaty.*

The consternation of Pius II. was extreme when he heard of the "outrage offered to a Prince of the Church, one personally dear to him and bearing a name honoured alike throughout Eastern and Western Christendom." The deed perpetrated at Bruneck was in his eyes a grievous insult to the Apostolic See, to the Sacred College, and to the Church at large. "It was an encouragement to all who had a mind to lay violent hands on her property or her dignitaries, an attack on her liberty and on the inviolability of her members and possessions, and a challenge to her authority."† He therefore resolved to withstand the Duke with all the resources of his spiritual power. Legal proceedings were at once commenced, and Sigismund was required to appear in person and answer for himself on the 4th August.‡

The Duke's reply was an appeal from the Pope ill-informed, to the Pope better informed, and in this appeal the majority of the Tyrolese Clergy supported him. On the 8th August, in consequence of his disobedience to the Papal summons, the sentence of greater excommunication was pronounced at Siena against him and his adherents.§ Even before the tidings of this excommunication reached

* JÄGER, I., 338–9, II., 8 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 356–62.

† JÄGER, II., 45–9.

‡ DÜX, II., 466 *seq.*; JÄGER, II., 52. The date here assigned for the meeting between Pius II. and Cusa, at Siena, is incorrect. The Cardinal did not arrive in that city until the 28th May. See *Acta Consist., f. 29b, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 34; GOLDAST, Monarchia, II., 1583; VOIGT, III., 373–5; JÄGER, II., 77 *seq.*, 87 *seq.*

the Ducal Court at Innsbruck, Sigismund took a step "which was in every way calculated to render the breach irreparable." He entrusted the whole conduct of his affairs to the impetuous Heimburg, "who carried the irresolute Duke away with him in his passionate and reckless opposition to the Holy See, in which personal aversion had no small share." On the 13th August, Sigismund issued a fresh and yet stronger appeal to the future Roman Pontiff and to a general Council, utterly disregarding the decree of the Pope at Mantua, which expressly prohibited such a course. Heimburg was the author of this document.*

The revolt was now fairly inaugurated, and Pius II. at once met it by decisive measures. Briefs were despatched in all directions, announcing the excommunication of Sigismund, and prohibiting all intercourse with him or his territory. A manifesto of the 19th August detailed the reasons of the excommunication, and the Emperor and the Bund were required to wrest the Tyrol from the Duke. Switzerland was the only country in which this proclamation had any effect. The German Princes condemned the action of the Pope, the majority of them openly espousing the cause of Sigismund; the prohibition of intercourse was disregarded by almost all the cities. Even the Princes of the Church for the most part neglected to take any measures for carrying out the Papal

* FREHER, II., 121–4; JÄGER, II., 94–9; VOIGT, III., 376. According to SENCKENBERG, IV., 390, Charles VII., Venice, Milan, the Electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, Archduke Albert and Duke Louis of Bavaria, joined in the appeal. No information on this important point is to be found in Jäger's more ample account. It is curious to observe that GREGOROVIUS, VII., 175, 3rd. ed., represents Sigismund as fighting with Cusa "for the Bishopric of Brixen, of which he held possession"!

commands.* In the Tyrol itself the laity and most of the clergy declared themselves on the side of the Duke, who displayed a feverish energy in face of the dangers which threatened him. He applied for assistance not only to his father-in-law, King James of Scotland, but to other Princes who, like Diether of Isenburg and Charles VII. of France, were more or less hostile to the Holy See. A memorial against the Pope was at once drawn up in Latin and circulated throughout the Tyrol; and in the beginning of September a defence in Latin and German was sent out from Innsbruck to the temporal and spiritual Princes far and near. This document strongly insisted on Sigismund's "rights as Lord of the country." On the 9th September, the appeal of the 13th August was reiterated. The Cathedral Chapter of Brixen also appealed and declared the Papal Interdict invalid.†

Sigismund's new appeal and the defence both proceeded from the pen of Heimburg. These writings, like the productions of Luther and Hutten in a succeeding generation, were disseminated throughout the whole of Germany with

* SCHARPFF, 326 *seq.*; JÄGER, II., 104 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 391 *seq.*, 396 *seq.* On the 30th January, 1461, *Pius II. wrote to Frankfort to the effect that he had heard of the disregard by that city of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against Sigismund, and required that it should be respected. Original in the City Archives, Frankfort, Foreign Affairs, Doc. VII., N. 246.

† VOIGT, III., 380 *seq.*; JÄGER, II., 117 *seq.*, 122 *seq.* In their detailed account of these matters Voigt and Jäger have, like GEBHARDT, 38, overlooked the long letter of Sigismund to Diether, which SCHUNCK, Cod. Dipl., 338–57, (Mog., 1797), publishes "from an old archival MS." I found this letter in Cod. 96, f. 259–64, of the Cathedral Library, Frankfort (now in the City Library, Frankfort). Schunck may have made use of this MS. The letter is here dated "am Eritag nach des hl. crützes tage exaltationis" (16th September), for which Schunck reads "Fritag."

extreme rapidity. The numerous copies to be found in the German Libraries bear witness to their extensive circulation. The appeals were "like the Papal Indulgences affixed to the Church doors in Germany and Italy, and even as a hostile demonstration in Florence and Siena."*

In the autumn of 1460 Pius II. took proceedings against Heimburg in person as the "chief instigator of the Duke," and the "author of the obstinate opposition to the Apostolic See." He was excommunicated by name, and all the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities of Germany were desired to seize "this son of the devil."†

Heimburg "now gave free vent to his rage." He began by appending a series of abusive marginal notes to the Bull which condemned him, directed not only against the person, but also against the Primacy of the Pope. This was followed by a new appeal to a Council, "an invective exceeding all former attacks in violence."‡ He accuses the Pope of being "more garrulous than a magpie," and of having at Mantua "praised adultery and crimes against public morality," and maintains the supremacy of Councils. "Hold fast what you have gained," he says to the clergy, "the Council is the fortress of your liberties, the corner-stone of your dignity. Rend the feeble nets and break the worthless bonds which you have taken pains to forge for yourselves in your scholastic philosophy. And you, Princes and soldiers, who are accustomed in warfare

* GEBHARDT, 36 ; VOIGT, III., 377.

† ÆN. SYLV. Opp., 932–3 ; FREHER, II., 124–5 ; JÄGER, II., 144 *seq.*, 148 *seq.* ; VOIGT, III., 382 *seq.*

‡ GEBHARDT, 37 ; JÄGER, II., 183 ; VOIGT, III., 383–7 ; BROCKHAUS, 176–84. It is certain that Heimburg behaved with a coarseness unworthy of a man of culture. Hist.-Pol. Blätter, XLIX., 672. See also SCHARPFF, 337 *seq.*

to exercise your skill in seizing the best positions before the enemy can reach them, make haste to secure this most important point of the General Council. Should the Pope succeed in wresting this stronghold from you, you will find yourselves left without shield or spear and constrained to buy your lives at a heavy price, in the tribute which, under the mask of the Turkish war, is levied only to be spent for shameful and criminal purposes." The Decree of Mantua is stigmatised by Heimburg as vain and senseless and the Pope is called a dotard and a heretic.*

Teodoro de' Lelli, Auditor of the Rota, and in 1462 Bishop of Feltre, stood up as the champion of the Pope and the monarchical constitution of the Church. The principle that "a guiding head is as essential a part of the hierarchy established by Christ in the Church as the gradations among its members," is well worked out in his reply. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that he adopted a passionate and intemperate tone similar to that of his opponent. The latter at once retorted that his heresy consisted merely in his defence of Councils which Pius II. had endeavoured to crush at Mantua, and in his assertion that the Pope's only motive in calling for the Turkish expedition was to extort money.†

* G. HEIMBURGII Appelatio a papa variis modis ad concilium futurum in FREHER, II., 125 *seq.*; GOLDAST, II., 1292 *seq.* Frequently also in MS., *e.g.* in Munich (see VOIGT, *loc. cit.*) and in the State Archives, Dresden, *loc.* 7384, f. 209 *seq.*, Cod. Regin. 557, f. 77 *seq.*, and Cod. Palat., 362, f. 87b *seq.*, Vatican Library.

† Lelli's Replica and Heimburg's Apologia are in GOLDAST, II., 1595 *seq.*, 1604 *seq.*; translated by BROCKHAUS, 184 *seq.* See GEBHARDT, 37; DÜX, II., 210 *seq.* Regarding Lelli see OUDIN, III., 2571; FABRICIUS-MANSI, VI., 525; LORENZ, II., 384, 3rd. ed. Lelli's Tractatus contra pragmaticam sanctionem in Cod. Vat. 3878 (Vatican Library) is, as far as I know, unpublished.

Pius II. meanwhile had taken a further step against the Tyrolese rebels. On the 23rd January, 1461, he summoned Duke Sigismund, Gregor Heimburg, Lorenz Blumenau, Bishop George of Trent, all the Duke's Counsellors, the Cathedral Chapter of Brixen, most of the Abbots of the Tyrolese Convents, a number of other spiritual and temporal Lords, and all clergy and laity of the Tyrol who had contemned the ecclesiastical Interdict, to appear within fifty days before his Tribunal to vindicate their orthodoxy, especially in regard to the article, "I believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."*

Heimburg replied on the 16th of May, 1461, by another appeal or rather manifesto, pouring contempt on the Papal summons, and full of revolutionary doctrines in regard to the spiritual power of the Papacy. "This appeal," to quote the words of an historian who favours the Duke, "was certainly a considerable advance on the part of Sigismund and Heimburg, and it might seriously be asked whether they still remained within the sphere of the Catholic body, or had withdrawn from it and taken refuge in that abstract and universal church which exists only in the imagination."† On Wednesday in Holy Week, 1461, Pius II. solemnly excluded Gregor Heimburg as a heretic from the Communion of the Church. On

* The Bull "Contra Satanæ" given fully only in GOLDAST, II., 1579 *seq.* The date (X. Cal., Febr. A° 3°; VOIGT, III., 405) is established by the Regesta of the Secret Archives of the Vatican. The Bull is twice entered here: Regest. 479, f. 189, and 480, f. 194.

† JÄGER, II., 192; FRIEDBERG, Zeitschrift, VIII., 84; GRENZEN, I., 113–14; BACHMANN, I., 33; HAGEN, 153. This manifesto of Heimburg is printed in GOLDAST, II., 1580–83; the conclusion which is there wanting, is given from the copy in the State Archives in Vienna by CHMEL, Reg. II., 386. I found another copy in the State Archives, Dresden, *loc.* 7384, f. 204 *seq.*

Maundy Thursday (2nd April) he reiterated the sentence of greater excommunication pronounced against him, as well as against Sigismund and his adherents.* Sigismund retorted by causing Heimburg's insolent manifesto of the 16th of March to be posted up in four places in Rome, but it was immediately torn down by the incensed populace.†

The bad effects of the Duke's example were but too apparent in the hostile attitude assumed by the Archbishop of Mayence in the spring of 1461. Heimburg had brought about an alliance between these two Princes. The day after he entered Diether's service, the deliberations of the Diet of Nuremberg began (23rd February, 1461). In this Electoral Diet the anti-Papal opposition reached its climax.

Diether of Isenburg was the leading spirit of this Assembly. The lesser excommunication pronounced by the Papal judge in consequence of his non-payment of the Annates had so incensed him that he threatened to do his utmost against Rome.‡ Emboldened by finding such a goodly array of Princes assembled in Nuremberg

* The Bull of April 1st is translated by JÄGER, II., 199–200, from the copy in Cues ; it is also to be found in the Regest. 480 *seq.* 198, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† "* El duca Sigismondo de Austria heri de nocte hebe el modo de far mitter qua a la porta de S. Petro, a quella del Castello, in banchi et in campo de fiore, non se po sapere chi sia stato lamico che seria lapidato, uno processo in carta de capreto longissimo per spatio de duo braza dove dice de molto cose ad sua iustificatione Queste scripte come furono vedute a furore de populo furono levate et portate a palazo." *Report of B. Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1461, April 30th, Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

‡ * Letter of Bessarion to Pius II. of the 29th March, 1461, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (see *supra* p. 175); see CUGNONI, 207 *seq.*

in answer to his summons he cast aside all consideration for the Head of the Church.

However unbecoming the action of the Papal judge might have been in thus proceeding against the first Prince of the Empire, it certainly "was neither so important nor so irrevocable as to justify the extraordinary step at once taken by Diether. For, instead of availing himself of the nearest legal remedy, or complaining to the Pope of the treatment to which he had been subjected, he issued a formal appeal to a Council* which, according to the decisions of Constance and Basle was to be held once in every ten years, committing himself, his Church and all who would join him to its protection. He declared that he could not appeal to the Pope, inasmuch as it was thought that he was a party to the judge's act. Nevertheless, he was willing to do so if Pius II. would refer the matter to the arbitration of some Prelate who was above suspicion; otherwise he appealed to his successor, who would have the right to revise his proceedings."

A Protestant historian considers that "it would have been almost impossible to offer a deeper insult to Pius II. than such an appeal, which passed over all the ordinary legal means and completely ignored the authority of the Pope. It was true that he had himself in former days at Basle defended this method of procedure. But his recent decree at Mantua had expressly forbidden it, denounced the principle on which it rested as a dangerous and destructive heresy, and declared that all authors and abettors of such an appeal from the Emperor himself down to the clerk who transcribed it would thereby incur the greater excommunication from which the Pope alone

* Unfortunately without a date in SENCKENBERG, IV., 392–9.

could absolve them at the hour of death." Most probably it was Heimburg, who was at this time in Nuremberg, who induced the Archbishop to take this rash step.* The appeal bears marks of having been written by him.† Diether's rupture with Rome was now final.‡

In obedience to the Pope's command, Cardinal Bessarion had at once sent an Embassy to Nuremberg to explain that it was not the intention of Rome to demand anything, however small, without the consent of the nation.§ Neither this Embassy, however, nor the two Nuncios seem to have arrived in time to intervene in the deliberations of the Diet.

Diether had now full scope for his anti-Roman agitation. He enjoyed the triumph of seeing not only the Count Palatine Frederick, but also the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg, his brothers, Albert and John, together with the Bishop of Würzburg, likewise appeal.‖ The Bohemian Ambassadors alone held aloof from this demonstration, as their master had good reasons for not breaking with Rome.

* MENZEL, VII., 277. The gravity with which the demand for a Council was viewed in Rome is witnessed by the *Despatch of B. Bonatto, of March 16th, 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix N. 44.

† MENZEL, Diether, 105; GEBHARDT, 38, considers the appeal "undoubtedly" Heimburg's work.

‡ See HIRSCHEL, Diether und der Apost. Stuhl, in the Mainzer Katholik, 1850, I., 260, 307.

§ This appears from the *Brief to Bessarion of the 9th April, 1461 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), Lib. brev. 9, f. 217b.

‖ JOANNIS, I., 776; MENZEL, Diether, 106–7. Efforts were made to win Mayence to the side of the appeal. The people of Mayence asked advice from Frankfort. The *Council of that city answered on the 6th February, 1461, that such a demand had not yet reached them. City Archives of Frankfort-on-Maine, Reichssachen, 5227.

Frederick III. also was bitterly attacked at Nuremberg. Antagonism towards him was in many ways interwoven with opposition to the Pope, and each gathered strength from the other.* On the 1st of March the Electors of Mayence, of the Palatinate, and of Brandenburg, addressed a threatening letter to the Emperor. They described the deplorable condition of the Empire, complained of the negligence of Frederick, who for fifteen years "had not been seen in this portion of it," and invited him to a Diet at Frankfort on the Sunday after Pentecost (31st May). Should the Emperor fail to appear they would decide and act without him, as might be necessary for the welfare of the Empire.† On the same day the Electors bound themselves "by a solemn promise, equivalent to an oath," not to suffer themselves to be turned from their purpose by Pope or by Emperor.‡

On the 2nd March the Elector Frederick and the Margraves, Albert and John, together with the Count Palatine, addressed a letter to the Pope expressing their astonishment that he should have required from Archbishop Diether a larger sum than his predecessors had paid for the Pallium. This demand, they declared, inflicted fresh injury on the Church of Mayence, which was once the most powerful in the Empire, but had suffered considerably from wars and calamities, it infringed the rights of the Councils, and violated the Concordats which former Popes had concluded with the German nation, and would lead to the ruin of the Church in Germany. They most humbly begged His Holiness to be satisfied with the ancient tax which the Archbishop was

* PALACKY, IV., 2, 172.

† JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 149–52. A copy of the letter is also preserved in the City Archives at Cologne, Reichsacten B.

‡ KREMER, Urkunden, N. 74; MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 285.

ready at any moment to pay and to remove the penalties inflicted upon him and his adherents. If the Pope refused to grant their request, concluded the letter in a tone of menace, they and almost all the Princes of the German nation would range themselves on Diether's side and support him by word and act.*

As if the Apostolic See had not been sufficiently offended by his first appeal, Diether shortly afterwards issued a second. In this he complained of the attitude of Bessarion in Vienna, and of the numerous Indulgences by which the coffers of the devout were emptied and of the exorbitant claim of Annates. This appeal and a joint manifesto in accordance with it were signed by a large number of the Princes and Envoys.† A yet more important symptom of the general feeling was the fact that the Council of Archbishop John of Treves eagerly took part in all these measures against the Holy See. The ultimate goal of the opposition conducted by Diether and Heimburg was evidently a German imitation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; the bond between the German Church and the centre of unity was to be as far as possible loosened, and Germany placed in a semi-schismatical position.

It is very remarkable that the opposition should have been so strong in Germany against a Pope whose own countrymen accused him of German sympathies.‡ But it is easy to see how little importance is to be attached to all these fine words about the liberty and honour of Germany; they were but a mask to cover selfish aims and private interests. Where was the patriotism of men who did not shrink from an alliance with the French monarch

* MENZEL, Diether, 114–15.

† *Ibid.*, 118; HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 306 *seq.*

‡ HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 125. In Poland also Pius II. was looked upon as the friend of the Germans. CARO, V., 1, 173.

who was still hankering after the Rhine country? Full details are wanting, but it is a fact that Heimburg was sent to the French Court to consult with the King as to measures to be taken by the German and French opposition in common.* Nor did the German Princes scorn other foreign assistance, they thought of a treaty with King René, who was in active antagonism to the Pope on the Neapolitan question.† It is obvious that the triumph of King René, and with him of French influence in Italy, would not have promoted the interests of Germany.

After the Count Palatine Frederick and Diether had on the 6th March joined the Electoral Union, the dissolution of the Diet was decided upon. This body demanded amongst other things a general Council and a fresh Assembly in Frankfort on the 22nd May; all private negotiations with the Roman Court were prohibited.‡

The dissolution of the Diet was accepted unanimously, but discontent and mistrust soon broke forth again among the confederates, who were occupied solely with their own private interests, and no one of whom was prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause which he professed to advocate.§ The Assembly which had seemed so seriously to threaten the two chief powers of Christendom had but glossed over for a time the ancient party strifes. Margrave Albert discovered to the Emperor "in profound secrecy"

* HÖFLER, Kaiserl. Buch, 84; HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 305; MENZEL, Diether, 119, N. 33. Heimburg's Mission was primarily concerned with the place of the Council. The general feeling in Germany was against one being held on French soil, as appears from a Despatch of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, March 16, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; see Appendix N. 44.

† HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 305–6; MENZEL, Diether, 120.

‡ MENZEL, Diether, 124 *seq.*

§ PRUTZ, Mittelalter, II., 530.

the plans which had been framed in the Diet,* and in the course of a few months Diether's work was undone, and everything that had been sealed and sworn to at Nuremberg was forgotten.

The tidings of these proceedings had caused the greatest consternation alike at the Imperial and the Papal Courts. Frederick III. turned to Pius II. for assistance. "Consider, Holy Father," he wrote on the 7th April, "how rampant the factions in the Empire have grown. See how they presume to lay down the law to Us both. It is absolutely necessary that We should at once combine to oppose their designs. We beg Your counsel and assistance. In Diether you may see the consequence of granting ecclesiastical confirmation without consulting the temporal ruler. At any rate do not let him be consecrated Archbishop." Frederick III. sent his Marshal, Henry of Pappenheim, throughout the Empire to dissuade and threaten those who might have been disposed to attend the proposed Diet at Frankfort.†

The dangerous nature of the situation had been recognised first in Rome, and decisive measures had been taken. Even before the arrival of the alarming tidings from Germany, Pius II., "ever watchful and armed," had despatched, as his Nuncios to that country, the Canon Francis of Toledo and Rudolf of Rüdesheim, the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter of Worms. They were to treat with the German Princes in regard to their grievances, and in particular to give reassuring explana-

* Heymlich werbung an den Kayser, in HÖFLER, Kaiserl. Buch, 80-85; BACHMANN, I., 49 *seq.*

† PALACKY, IV., 2, 181. Frederick's Letter to the Pope is published by BIRK in the Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., XI., 158–60. Regarding the answer of Pius II., see VOIGT, III., 253; PALACKY, 182; BACHMANN, I., 42.

tions on the subject of the levy of the tithes.* They shewed great skill in accomplishing the difficult task of quieting the storm which threatened ecclesiastical authority. "No doubt in their conflict with this many-headed movement, they were at an advantage in being the servants of a united power. Still it is greatly to their credit that they were able so completely to soothe the partisans of the Council, and to separate them from the Archbishop of Mayence, as Pius desired."†

The Papal Nuncios next succeeded in detaching Albert Achilles from the party of opposition. They assured him that it was not the Pope's intention to impose the tithes without the consent of the nation. They formally apologised for Bessarion's threatening language in Vienna. He had had no such instructions from the Pope, "but had been carried away by his own eager interest in the matter and wounded feelings." They also justified Pius II.'s proceedings against Duke Sigismund and the friendly relations with the King of Bohemia, which he had hitherto maintained. In regard to the Council they declared that Pius II. would consent to it on condition that the temporal powers should co-operate in carrying out the reforms decreed by the Bishops.‡

When the Nuncios had also induced the Count Palatine Frederick and the Archbishop of Treves to withdraw from the appeal,§ the isolation of Diether was almost

* See the Document in HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, 334–5.

† MENZEL, Diether, 133 ; ZAUN, 23. Regarding Rudolf of Rüdesheim see also ROTH, Gesch. Quellen Nassau's, 1880, I., XX. and 358 ; FABISZA, 95 *seq.* and GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

‡ MENZEL, *loc. cit.* ; BACHMANN, I., 51 ; Archiv für Œsterr. Gesch., XII., 351 (where 1461 is to be read instead of 1451). Fontes Rer. Austr., 2., part XLIV., 75.

§ PII II. Comment. 146 ; MENZEL, Diether, 140 ; and Gesch. von Nassau, 289.

complete; and the failure of the Assembly at Frankfort which was opposed by the Pope as strongly as by the Emperor, might be predicted with certainty.* Nevertheless, following the counsels of the impetuous Heimburg, he would not hear of yielding. In vain did his clergy urge him to retrace his steps, in vain did the Papal Nuncios declare themselves ready to come to terms if the Archbishop would but recall his appeal. When Frankfort, the Imperial city of Germany, at the command of Frederick III., refused to receive the proposed Assembly, he changed its place of meeting to his own Episcopal City.†

The Diet of Mayence was very ill-attended, "the Imperial Cities in general, as well as the Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Bohemia were unrepresented. The Archbishop, in fact, stood alone with the Tyrolese Envoys; there were no others, and these had private reasons for their hostility to the Church."‡

The proceedings began on the 4th June with a defeat for the opposition, for the excommunicated Heimburg was prevented by the Papal Nuncios from attending the Sessions. On the following day Diether, in a long speech, brought forward his complaints against Rome and demanded a General Council as "the only remedy against the encroachments of the Apostolic See." He charac-

* The Papal Letter without its commencement and without date is given by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 14, and by MÜLLER, II., 21, in its entirety, but without date in *Lib. brev. 9, f. 196, Secret Archives of the Vatican. VOIGT'S observation, III., 253, that the letter was despatched on the 24th April, 1461, accords with the fact that the preceding date in the Lib. brev. is 21 April, 1461.

† BACHMANN, I., 55; MENZEL, Friedrich, 81; JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 155 *seq.*

‡ BACHMANN, I., 56–8; MENZEL, Diether, 142 *seq.*

terised the Tithes and Indulgences as frauds, and the Turkish war as merely a pretext to support them.*

Rudolf of Rüdesheim, distinguished alike as a diplomatist and a canonist, defended the Holy See against Diether's attacks with "equal courage and success." His discourse was a masterpiece, "temperate in its language, prudent and conciliatory in its treatment of questions of general interest, broad in its point of view, uncompromising and trenchant in dealing with the particular cases which touched the authority and doctrines of the Church."† At the same time the two Nuncios emphatically declared that it had never been the intention of the Pope, and was not now his will to burden the German nation in opposition to the wishes of its Princes and Prelates with the imposition of the tithe determined at Mantua, nor to inflict on any one the spiritual penalties threatened in the Bull on this subject.‡

These words dealt a heavy blow to the opposition. These ardent reformers once convinced that they would not be required to put their hands in their pockets for the expenses of the Crusade, forgot all about "the oppressions of Rome," together with their grand projects of a General

* Pii II. Comment., 143.

† Bachmann, I., 59; Palacky, IV., 2, 184; Zaun, 23 *seq.* Bachmann is mistaken when he says, p. 60: "I found the Legate's Discourse, as pronounced before the assembly of Princes, in the Royal State Archives at Dresden, *loc.* 7384, f. 191–2." I also consulted the above-mentioned Fasciculus, 7384, but only found (f. 191b), the well-known declaration of the 5th June, made by the Nuncios regarding the tithes, and (f. 193–99) Rudolf's discourse as it is printed from Cod. Germ. 975 of the State Library at Munich, in Zaun, 67–109.

‡ Hasselholdt-Stockheim, I., 1, 334. On the 4th September, 1461, Pius II. solemnly confirmed the declaration of his Nuncios. See Janssen, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 169–70.

Council and a Pragmatic Sanction, and left Diether to his fate.*

The defeat of the Conciliar Party was sealed shortly afterwards by Diether's promise, in the hope that the Pope would also make some concession or would extend the time for the payment of the Annates, to desist from whatever was displeasing to the Holy Father and to comply with his wishes.† We can hardly be surprised that this unprincipled man was not trusted in Rome, especially when we find that he soon made a fresh attempt at opposition. With a view of bringing pressure to bear upon the Pope, he invited the German Princes, Prelates and Universities to resume the Diet of Mayence at Michaelmas, in order again to discuss the Turkish war, the tithes and the grievances of the nation and adopt suitable resolutions.‡

* GEBHARDT, 43; MENZEL, Diether, 146; and Gesch. von Nassau, 290. At the end of June these good tidings reached Rome. Bartol. Bonatto wrote to the Duke of Mantua a letter, dated Rome, 1461, June 29, in which is the following passage: *De Alemagna se hanno novelle de questa dieta et bone per la Sta. de N. S. che quelli principi e signori hanno deliberato che la Sua Bea. habia vera ubedienza da quello paese et che lo arcivescovo de Magonza, chi era quello era casone del tucto per non pagare la anata del suo vescovato chie XX^{m} ducati, pagi quello è justo e non si faza piu mentione de appellarse ad futurum concilium cum questo che non se ge rasoni de darge decime, cusi scrive quello cubiculario fu mandato de qui." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 291; HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, I., 1, 137; Annalen des Nassauischen Alterthumsvereins, XII., 184; BACHMANN, I., 60. PALACKY, IV., 2, 185, observes that the Party of the Council thoroughly succumbed before this change, and the misfortune which fell upon Charles VII. of France (he died shortly afterwards, on the 22nd July, 1461).

‡ HÄUSSER, I., 366; MENZEL, Friedrich, 87; and Diether, 149; VOIGT, III., 259; CREIGHTON, II., 421.

This meeting did not take place. Pius II. having found another candidate for the Archbishopric in the person of the Canon Adolph of Nassau, secretly sent John Werner of Flassland as his agent to Germany, with Bulls, depriving Diether, and granting the Papal institution to his opponent.* Flassland arrived safely at Mayence, where Adolph of Nassau at once summoned a meeting of the Cathedral Chapter. Diether, who had heard of the danger which threatened him, was present. Adolph, however, was by no means perplexed; with the Papal Bull in his hand he announced Diether's deposition and his own appointment. The former at once protested and appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed, but he was not able to hinder the enthronement of his adversary.† He also issued a violent defence, in which he related his whole contest with Rome, protested against his deposition, and declared that he did not acknowledge the prohibition of appeal on the ground that it had not the sanction of the Council, and was contrary to all justice, human and divine. "If," he said, "no one is to appeal from the oppression of a Pope to a future General Council, then we are all at the Pope's mercy."‡

Diether's position was from the first far from encouraging, for the Imperial party, led by Albert Achilles, which

* The Bull of deprivation of the 21st August, 1461, is in *Regest., 505, f. 93b–97b, with its commencement wanting in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 21–5; complete in PII II. Epist. 4 (Milan Edition) and in JOANNIS, II., 146 *seq.* Here are also the Provision for Adolf and the other Bulls referring to the matter. Regarding Flassland, see MARINI, II., 160.

† PII II. Comment., 146 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 155 *seq.* and Gesch. von Nassau, 294; JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 175.

‡ MÜLLER, II., 38–46. See Speierische Chronik, 459.

had opposed him before now, unanimously took the side of Adolph of Nassau.* The deposed Prelate nevertheless determined to fight. He trusted in the powerful Count Palatine, but when this crafty Prince assumed a procrastinating attitude, he for a moment completely lost courage. "Unprincipled as ever, wavering between submission and defiance," he at first promised to yield, and then again took up arms.† On the 11th November, 1461, Diether entered into a solemn agreement with Adolph, by which he undertook to give up his See on condition of receiving absolution from excommunication and a considerable indemnity in land and men at the expense of the Church of Mayence. Peace seemed to be thus restored, but on the very day when this contract was sealed and sworn, Diether sought assistance against Adolph. On the 12th November his Envoys absolutely denied, in a letter to the Council of Mayence, the existence of any treaty between them. On the 19th he made a fresh alliance with the Count Palatine for the vindication of his claim to the Archbishopric, assigning to him the cities and castles of the Bergstrasse as the price of the aid he was to render.‡

A fierce conflict now broke forth, involving all the country bordering on the Rhine in the miseries and horrors attendant on the warfare of the period. Early in the following year the feud between the families of Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach blazed forth afresh, and

* The Court of Rome was at first of opinion that there would be no further difficulties about the matter, but experience soon proved this hope to be delusive. See the *Despatch of B. Bonatto to the Duke of Mantua, dated Rome, 20th November, 1461: "De Alemagna se ha che quella depositione de Magontino non passava cussi neta come se credia la brigata." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Droysen, II., 1, 185; Voigt, III., 268, and Palacky, IV., 2, 217.

‡ Menzel, Diether, 165 *seq.*, and Gesch. von Nassau, 299 *seq.*; Feeser, 88 *seq.*

the greater part of the Empire was filled with the din of arms. The vicissitudes of this struggle do not enter into the scope of our work.

On the 8th January, 1462, Pius II. published a severe Bull against Diether. He required him within the space of eighteen days to give up all lands belonging to the archbishopric; in the event of his disobedience the heaviest ecclesiastical penalties were to be inflicted on him and his adherents, and all places in which they might sojourn were to be laid under an Interdict.* Immediately after this, urgent requisitions were sent from Rome to the cities of Cologne and Frankfort, calling upon them to support Adolph of Nassau.† On the first February the proceedings against Diether were justified in a detailed memorandum which also claimed help for Adolph, and insisted on the execution of the Papal censures.‡ Francis of Toledo and Pietro Ferrici were sent to Germany as Nuncios to labour in the cause of the Pope, which they zealously did by word of mouth, by letters and manifestoes.§ "But this time success was more difficult, for

* SATTLER, Gesch. von Würtemberg, III., Supplement, p. 194–8 (Ulm, 1767), gives the Bull, but wrongly assigns it to the year 1461.

† See in Appendix N. 54 the *Brief to Frankfort from the original in the City Archives. The original of the similar document, addressed to Cologne, has the note: "Praesentatum anno 62, die 17 Martii."

‡ In the Milan edition of 1487, the Bull is dated: Prid. Cal. Febr., but in Cod. Hamilton, 198 (Royal Library at Berlin), Cal. Febr., which latter is correct.

§ Besides the letters published in JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondez, others are preserved in the City Archives at Frankfort, as *e.g.* *Letters from Francis of Toledo, to Frankfort, dat. ex. Altavilla, 1462, June 10, and July 4 (Reichssachen, 5293 and 5324). *Tractatus utrum in notoriis requiratur citacio, et sunt quatuor questiones de facto privationis archiepiscopi Maguntini a domino papa Pio, edite per Franciscum Hyspanum decanum Tolletanum in Cod. Hamilton, 198, Royal Library, Berlin.

the rebels were now attached to Diether's cause by strong ties of material interest and advantage, both actual and prospective."*

At Spires the Papal Bull of excommunication was torn down from the Cathedral door; the Count Palatine forbade its publication in his camp under pain of death. He, like Diether, appealed to the Council, as "if he could thus wipe out the Pope."† On the 30th March Diether addressed a manifesto from Höchst to all temporal and spiritual Princes, calling upon them "to take to heart and consider how very unjustly and dishonourably he had been treated, imploring them not to hinder him in the maintenance of his righteous cause, but rather to punish such ungodly dealing, and to grant him help and support."‡ By means of Gutenberg's printing-press, numerous copies of this manifesto which, it was hoped, would arouse a strong feeling against Rome, were disseminated throughout Germany.§

Pius II. had no thought of yielding. A fresh Encyclical of May 1st, 1462, called upon all the Estates of the Empire to assist Adolph of Nassau.‖

* MENZEL, Gesch. Nassau's, 306.

† VOIGT, III., 284–5; GEISSEL, Der Kaiserdom zu Speier, II., 34. (Mainz, 1828); REMLING, Speier Bischöfe, II., 123–4.

‡ MÜLLER, II., 113–17.

§ Copies of the letter are now very rare; there is a fine one at Frankfort, no longer in the Archives (as BACHMANN, I., 250, says), but, since 1866, in the City Library. The Ernestine Collection of Archives, at Weimar (see MENZEL, Diether, 173), the Library at Munich, the City Archives at Spires, and those at Colmar all possess copies of this rare specimen of typography, of which FALCKENSTEIN (126) only knew three copies. Regarding other broadsheets, which, at this time, issued from the Press at Mayence, see LINDE, Gutenberg, 56 *seq.* (Stuttgart, 1878), and Buchdruckerkunst, III., 905 *seq.*

‖ GUDENUS, IV., 150–53. A Brief from Pius II., to the cities of

Diether made great efforts to prevent the clergy from observing the Interdict. With this object in view he appeared in person at Frankfort-on-Maine on the 19th September, 1462. The Town Council would not allow him to proceed against the loyal clergy within the walls. The "Archbishop," however, could not be prevented from going to St. Bartholomew's. Here the doors were of course shut, but he was not to be so easily hindered; he caused the doors to be broken open, and as far as was necessary, the windows, and thus by main force celebrated Divine worship in the Church which had for weeks been closed on account of the Interdict.*

The capture of the City of Mayence by his enemies on the 28th October, 1462, was a serious blow to Diether. Deprived of this stronghold he became more and more dependent on the Count Palatine.† Many attempts were made to end this unholy warfare. But all were fruitless until the spring of 1463, when Rupert, brother of the Count Palatine, was elected Archbishop of Cologne, and anxious to secure the Confirmation of his Election, made serious efforts to bring about a peace. At Oppenheim he succeeded in inducing the contending parties to consent to a truce from April 24th to November 11th, 1463. At

Hagenau, Schlettstadt and Colmar, desiring them to afford no assistance to Diether, but to support Adolph of Nassau, dat. Romae prid. Cal. Maii (30th April), 1462, is in the City Archives of Colmar, A. A.

* SCHELHASS, Die Stadt Frankfurt während der Mainzer Bisthumsfehde, in the Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte, Series 3, I., 213 (Frankfurt, 1888).

† K. MENZEL in Deutsche Biographie, V., 168. Regarding the surprise of Mayence, see Städtechroniken, XVIII., I., 51 *seq.*, 89 *seq.*, II., 176 *seq.* The Bull of the 18th January, 1463, commanding the German clergy to publish the Brief against Diether and his followers, is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 88.

the expiration of this period, it seemed likely that war would break forth anew, when affairs took a most unexpected turn.

The adherents of Nassau had long been desirous of breaking the alliance between Frederick and Diether. This at length came to pass. Diether, who had some reason to distrust his self-interested friend, entered into an agreement with Adolph in October, 1463. In consideration of being left in possession of a small territory, he renounced the Archbishopric, while Adolph promised to be responsible for all his debts and to bring about his reconciliation with the Pope and the Emperor.* This agreement was soon afterwards ratified at Frankfort in presence of Pietro Ferrici, the Nuncio to whom Pius II. had entrusted plenary powers. Diether, in token of his abdication, gave up his Electoral sword to Archbishop Adolph in a public assembly and did homage to him as his Lord. Then on his knees he asked for and received absolution from the sentence of excommunication.†

* MENZEL, Diether, 213 *seq.* Regesten Friedrichs des Siegreichen, 406; Annalen des Nassauischen Alterthumsvereins, X., 14 *seq.*

† PII II. Comment., 345; JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 230 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 216 *seq.* and Gesch. von Nassau, 336 *seq.* Adolph did all that he could to heal the wounds of his Diocese, and was active in the reform of the regular and secular clergy (see JOANNIS, I., 782 *seq.*; MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 353); he died on the 6th September, 1475 (regarding his grave, see ROSSEL, Die Abtei Eberbach, Part II., Wiesbaden, 1862). Diether was then elected for the second time (see JOANNIS, I., 787 *seq.*, II., 145 *seq.*; GROTEFEND, Chroniken, I., 22). SIXTUS IV. had at first protested against the re-election; at the petition of the Chapter, he, however, confirmed it on the 5th April, 1476 (GUDENUS, IV., 418). In an ancient collection of State Archives at Darmstadt, under the year 1475, is the entry: "Archbishop Diether of Mayence informs the Count Philip of Katzenelnbogen that, on the Friday before Palm Sunday he was confirmed in his office by the Pope—Saturday after Easter." This

The Count Palatine Frederick was more difficult to deal with; at length, however, the representations of his brother Rupert induced him to agree to a peace on very favourable terms. Adolph promised to obtain absolution for him and his followers from the Pope, and together with his Cathedral Chapter, acknowledged the mortgage on the Bergstrasse.* In the middle of March, 1464, at a Diet at Worms, he was solemnly received back into the Communion of the Church by Bishop Onofrio of Tricarico, and Canon Pietro Ferrici, the Papal Legates. Before his absolution the Count was required to make a declaration that during the contest he had never intended to withdraw from submission to the Apostolic See and that for the future he would always be loyal and obedient to it.†

These two leaders of the anti-Papal opposition in Germany were far surpassed in obstinacy by Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol. The conflict between the democratic Conciliar theory, represented by Heimburg and Sigismund, and the monarchical constitution of the Church upheld by the Pope, had reached its climax in the Manifesto of the 16th March, 1461. The contest now entered upon its last stage, that of negotiations for peace. The exasperation of both parties was still intense; the

document was not to be found in the Darmstadt Archives; Baron Schenk of Schweinsburg supposes the original to be in the Archives of Marburg; 1476 certainly ought to be read instead of 1475, the date "Friday before Palm Sunday," 5th April, then coincides with Gudenus.

* KREMER, Friedrich, Urk., p. 319 *seq.*; MENZEL, Diether, 220; FEESER, 107.

† KREMER, Friedrich, Urk., 327 *seq.* On the 25th May, 1464, Pius II. confirmed Rupert's Election as Archbishop of Cologne (LACOMBLET, IV., 408–9). On this occasion and subsequently Pius II. manifested his gratitude by the grant of many favours; see MENZEL, Gesch. von Nassau, 348.

violent measures of the Duke against those who respected the Papal censures must have produced a very painful impression in Rome.* Yet fresh proposals of mediation were constantly brought forward. The inefficacy of the Papal penalties, together with the course of events in Germany, induced Pius to consent to negotiations. But Sigismund would not hear of making any kind of apology until the Pope should have withdrawn his censures. This, and the large demands made by Cusa, frustrated the conciliatory efforts of the Venetians who earnestly desired the end of a contest which seriously impeded their trade through the Tyrol.†

In consequence of a happy combination of circumstances, a solution was at length brought about by means of the Emperor. "Most Holy Father," wrote Frederick III. on the 2nd February, 1464, "it is time that this matter should be settled. The authority of the Church, as we see, is too little respected. In consideration of the times in which we live a little indulgence is necessary. We beg your Holiness to consent to our continuing the negotiation and to commission the Bishop of Lepanto to return to us and to give him authority when the matter is settled and absolution is sought, to grant it together with the removal of the Interdict and whatever else may be necessary for the complete restoration of peace. For as soon as an arrangement has been arrived at in regard to the restitution and things depending thereon, We, in the name and stead of our cousin, in accordance with the Mandate which We shall receive, will solemnly and humbly beg of your Holiness or your Commissary,

* JÄGER, II., 206 *seq.*, 246 *seq.*

† VOIGT, III., 407 *seq.*, 414 *seq.* JÄGER gives a detailed account of the Venetian mediation (252–402).

absolution, removal of penalties, restitution, and everything that is required." *

The sudden death of Cusa† (11th August, 1464), which was followed three days later by that of Pius II., brought all these troubles to an end. On the 25th August, the proposals which had been solemnly presented by the Emperor on the 12th June were accepted. The principal articles were the following: The Bishopric of Brixen was to be restored to the Cardinal who was to hold it as his predecessors had done before the Compact of Bruneck, which was to be considered null and void. Obligations contracted previously to that event were to continue in force. All ecclesiastical and secular persons were to be reinstated in their former possessions and dignities. The Poor Clares whom Sigismund had banished from Brixen were to return to their convent. In regard to the jurisdiction over the convent of Sonnenburg and other points left undecided by this Convention, they were to be arranged in accordance with former deeds. The Cardinal, as Bishop of Brixen, was to grant investiture to the Duke, in the same manner as his predecessors had granted it to the Duke's forefathers. All who have adhered to Sigismund are to be absolved; the Chapter of Brixen retains

* JÄGER, II., 414-15.

† Regarding CUSA'S will and his tomb, which is still in good preservation in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, see SCHARPFF, 380 *seq.* A copy of his will is at Cues, and another in the Archives of the Anima at Rome. Cusa's heart was brought back from Rome to his birthplace, Cues. "Here it reposes in the soil of his fatherland, to whose highest spiritual welfare it had ever been devoted, within the walls of that noble foundation, which more than anything else bears witness to its Christian sentiments." See Vol. II., p. 132. A copper tablet, with Cusa's likeness, marks the spot where it rests, in the choir of the Hospital Church. This church also contains the tomb of the Cardinal's sister.

its ancient privileges. Frederick III. having, with head uncovered, besought pardon and absolution for Sigismund from the Papal Legate, the latter absolved the Duke from excommunication and the other censures, and removed the Interdict.* Heimburg was not absolved; from the time that the Emperor undertook the work of reconciliation, he vanishes from the scene in the Tyrol. The Czech King, George Podiebrad, subsequently furnished him with another opportunity of joining battle with Rome.

* JÄGER, II., 421 *seq.*, 427. Here we may observe that there is no ground for saying that the Emperor made this petition on his knees. It is strange that Jäger, and, after him, HUBER, III., 186 (who, however, takes care not to impart to his readers the substance of the agreement !) should have attached such importance to an undated and anonymous letter, to an un-named Cardinal, in which a partisan of Cusa laments the issue of the struggle. JÄGER, II., 415, moreover, had shortly before admitted with regard to the contract, "The Pope could not expect nor ask anything more. His Imperial Majesty himself offered a vicarious submission and satisfaction, which, as it presupposed Sigismund's consent, implicitly involved an acknowledgment of guilt and prayer for pardon. Satisfaction was offered to the authority of the Papal See, and Sigismund's honour was also saved by avoiding a direct and personal petition."

CHAPTER V.

Attempted Reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church.

The opposition to the authority of the Holy See in both France and Germany proceeded from the Princes and men of learning, and was schismatical rather than heretical in its character. In Bohemia, however, the case was different, and the movement was all the more dangerous because most of the people had become alienated from the teaching of the Church.

In the summer of 1451, as Nuncio in Bohemia, Pius II. had been able, from personal observation, to judge what deep roots these anti-Papal sentiments had taken in the nation. The so-called Compact, concluded in 1433, between the Bohemians and the Synod of Basle, had soon proved an absolutely insufficient basis for the establishment of a true and lasting peace. The Basle party to whom it was of the utmost importance to gain a palpable advantage over Eugenius IV., acted with as little good faith as the Bohemians. "The document which granted the chalice to the laity was amply furnished with evasive clauses, and the Bohemians took it as a simple confirmation of their heresy with all its varying doctrines, forms and rites, without troubling themselves as to the exact import of the articles. On the 5th July, 1436, the Compact was published at the Diet at Iglan in Sigismund's presence, but on the very next day fresh differences regarding the administration of the Sacrament

arose between Rokyzana and the Legate from Basle, and they parted without being able to agree. No formal decision was given for a long time with regard to a great many of the disputed points, and no agreement was ever arrived at in regard to the reception of the Eucharist by children. Both parties were interested in ostentatiously misrepresenting the Compact. The Council acted as if the Bohemians had submitted, and the Bohemians as if their heresy had been sanctioned."*

The concessions contained in the Compact were accepted by the Utraquists, but the accompanying conditions and obligations were utterly disregarded. Accordingly the Utraquist Clergy, while administering the Blessed Sacrament under both kinds to the laity, neglected to remind them that Christ was wholly and entirely present in each species, although the Compact plainly required them to do so. The conditions which bound them to conform to the Church in other matters of Dogma and Ritual were no better observed ; they continued to deny the Catholic doctrine regarding Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, Indulgences, and the use of images of the Saints. In 1448 the Councillors of Prague went so far as to forbid the private or public administration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist under one kind, at the same time proclaiming "with curious logic," that the Compact was to be maintained inviolate ! The meaning of all this was made clear when negotiations with the Byzantine Schismatics were set on foot. In this same year, 1448, the Catholic

* VOIGT in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., V., 413, who justly blames PALACKY (III., 3, 217) for giving the contents of the Compact superficially and incompletely, and from a Hussite account instead of from the original Document, which he himself published in Latin and Bohemian. See also FRIND, III., 152–7, who observes "It was a peace founded on illusions."

Cathedral Chapter and all the German Professors and students were compelled to leave Prague because they would not recognise Rokyzana, who had not received Archiepiscopal confirmation from Rome.* Utraquism ruled supreme in the Bohemian capital. From the pulpit of the Teyn Church, Rokyzana could, without let or hindrance, abuse the Roman Church and proclaim the Pope to be closely connected with the Beast in the Apocalypse.†

Thus it will be seen that the Compact had long been broken before Rome formally annulled it. The Holy See had always abstained from any recognition of the agreement entered into with the Synod of Basle. Throughout the weary period of the contest with the Conciliar Party the Popes had silently tolerated the exceptional position of affairs in Bohemia, while they clearly perceived that its continuance would constitute a danger to the Church.‡

The action of Rome in annulling the Compact was amply justified by the practical working of the treaty which proved more and more adverse to Catholic interests, while an Utraquist Church was growing up with the granting of the Chalice to the laity as its distinctive symbol. It was plain that no less decided measures would suffice to reunite Bohemia to the Church. But all efforts in this direction were frustrated by the fanaticism of the Czechs in regard to Communion under both kinds.

* HÖFLER, Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung, I., 174–7; SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschr., V., 417, 437.

† "Rokyzana" as GINDELY, Gesch. der Böhmischen Brüder, I., 11 (Prag, 1857) observes, "cast a new fire-brand into the country, by widening the breach which separated the Utraquists in general from Rome, he played into the hands of the individual fanatics who were raising new bulwarks against her by founding fresh sects."

‡ "The Compact was a living offshoot of the Revolution," says DROYSEN, 196.

Better days seemed to dawn with the accession of George Podiebrad to the throne. His abjuration of the Hussite heresy and his Coronation Oath must have awakened hopes in Rome, that with his assistance the nation might be brought back to Unity.* But his habitual duplicity was not laid aside in his dealings with the Apostolic See. Previously to his Coronation he had solemnly sworn, before two Catholic Bishops and a small number of witnesses, not only to be himself loyal and obedient to the Church and her Head, but also to bring his people back from all errors and heresies to complete obedience to the Roman Church, and union with Rome in ritual and worship.† This oath was thoroughly Catholic, and left no room for any Utraquistic interpretation. It abandoned the Compact; nevertheless, the King made no difficulty in swearing to maintain the privileges of the Bohemian kingdom, amongst which the Utraquists reckoned this agreement. It was evident that he was aware of the contradiction between these two oaths from the pains which he took to keep both his abjuration of heresy and the Coronation Oath a profound secret.‡

It was only to be expected that double-dealing of this kind would sooner or later bring its own punishment. The non-fulfilment of his Coronation Oath exposed the King to the well-merited reproaches of the Holy See, while the attempt to redeem his solemn promise was equivalent to a declaration of war against the Utraquists, who were his most important partisans. All Podiebrad's ingenuity was accordingly exercised in postponing the

* BACHMANN, Georgs Wahl, III., 128.

† See Vol. II. of this work, p. 444.

‡ The abjuration of heresy was not even to be committed to writing, see BACHMANN, Georgs Wahl, 140.

decisive moment when he must lay aside the mask and openly declare himself for or against Rome, in the meantime deriving all possible advantage from his ambiguous position.

At first things went better than he could have expected. In the beginning he had stipulated that time should be allowed him for the fulfilment of his promises, and this made it the more easy for him to put off the Holy See. Moreover, circumstances were taken into account at Rome, and the King was not pressed to hurry on the work of reunion.*

In order to keep the Papal Court in good humour, George Podiebrad at once took up the question which was justly considered as the most important of the day, and as a matter of life or death to Christendom. He had already made splendid promises to the aged Pope, Calixtus III., in regard to the Turkish War, and he now continued to speak in the same tone to Pius II. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was determined in Consistory to send the Bohemian King an invitation to the Congress at Mantua, similar to that which was addressed to the other Christian Princes. Podiebrad lost no time in making use of this Brief, in which the Pope addressed him as "dear son," for his own profit, and, as a matter of fact, the "little letter" brought many cities and districts to his feet.† But, on the other hand, these evidences of friendly relations with Rome incited Rokyzana to fresh attacks upon the Catholics. By the instigation of this

* "Unless," observes BACHMANN, Georgs Wahl, 140, "Rome desired to bring the King at once into conflict with that large portion of the nation which had chiefly contributed to his elevation to the throne, there was nothing for it but to permit him at first to pass as an Utraquist."

† MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 10–11.

leader, Decrees were published in 1459, in the Utraquist districts, to the effect that no one should enter into possession of an inheritance, or acquire property unless he bound himself by oath to live and die in the use of the Chalice. Marriage in the Church and burial in consecrated ground, the right of citizenship in Prague, and of admission to the Corporation, as well as the power of exercising a handicraft were all made dependent on the same condition.* The great influence possessed by Rokyzana, as head of the Utraquist party, induced the King to tolerate, if not to sanction, this Edict which was equivalent to a breach of the Compact. If Pius II. took account of these circumstances, and attributed the Edict to Rokyzana, and not to the King, yet he was evidently aware that the Bohemian monarch was playing the same game with him that he had so long carried on with his predecessor, Calixtus. The solemn Embassy, which had been empowered to complete the Union promised to that Pontiff, never arrived. By holding out expectations and making empty promises, George sought to obtain from the Holy See a full recognition of his position, and at the same time to avoid any step which would compromise him before the Hussites. He was most anxious that the validity of his title should be acknowledged by the whole Catholic world at the approaching Congress, if he made up his mind to send representatives there. But the Pope demanded a complete and public profession of obedience in his own name and that of the kingdom of Bohemia, and George did not think it possible to go so far.† Accordingly, in February, 1459, Provost John of Rabenstein was sent to the Papal Court to promise obedience to the Pope in the name of the

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 290; SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschr., V., 436.

† VOIGT, III., 439–40.

King and the Royal family, but not in that of the kingdom, and this act was to be performed in a Secret Consistory. Pius II. continued firm in his determination not to recognise George publicly as King until he should have made a public profession of obedience.*

The Congress which had now just opened at Mantua gave Podiebrad a very favourable opportunity for treating with the Pope. Pius II., whose mind was almost exclusively engrossed by the Turkish War, here experienced the first great disappointment of his Pontificate. The more indifferent the Christian Princes in general appeared in this matter, the greater was the apparent zeal on the part of Podiebrad. "He announced the speedy arrival of his Envoys, and broadly hinted that he hoped to stifle the arrogance of the Hussites, and wipe out the stain of heresy in the war against the Turks." The effect of this crafty policy was to induce Pius II. to modify his attitude. In his answer to the announcement that Bohemian Envoys would appear at the Congress, he "for the first time, without circumlocution," styled George, King, begging him to come in person to Mantua, or to send Ambassadors; and further explained that if Rabenstein had not been received as a Royal Envoy, it was because he had come in a private manner.†

Podiebrad neither came in person nor sent representa-

* MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 13–14; BACHMANN, Böhmen, 77 *seq.* *Regest., 470 *seq.*, 26b. Oratoribus regis Bohemie conceditur littera passus, dat. Senis III., non. April. A° 1°, f. 78: Joanni de Rabenstein prepos. Wisigrad. conceditur littera passus, dat. Senis 1459, Cal. April. A° 1°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† I intend to publish at full length in a future collection of Documents the *Brief of 8th June from the above mentioned Cod. of the Laurentian Library. See also in Appendix N. 16, Pius II.'s *Brief of the 12th June, 1459, to Procopius von Rabenstein. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

tives to the Congress, excusing himself on the plea that until he was lord over all his subjects, he could undertake no step in the matter of union.* This had reference specially to the people of Breslau, who withheld their allegiance on the ground that he was a heretic. In the beginning of September, Jerome Lando, Archbishop of Crete, and Francis of Toledo were sent to Silesia to settle this difference. As they were also to treat of the Turkish War and the reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church, they went, in the first instance, to Prague. Here George used every effort to win over the Papal Nuncios, and was completely successful. At Breslau, where he was hated more as a Czech than a heretic, they experienced considerable difficulty. At length, however, they were able to bring about a settlement, and it was arranged that, after the expiration of three years, homage should be rendered to him as a Catholic King.†

The last remaining antagonism to Podiebrad was thus removed by Papal intervention. The King was lavish in expressions of gratitude, and declared that nothing lay nearer to his heart than the reconciliation of Bohemia with the Church, and the war against the Turks. But his deeds did not correspond with his words. Month after month went by, yet his Envoys did not arrive at Mantua. The delay necessarily awakened distrust in the mind of the Pope, who, unable any longer to conceal his impatience sent the Royal Procurator, Fantino de Valle, who was at the time in Rome, to Prague to remonstrate with Podiebrad. But the Bohemian monarch contrived so thoroughly to convince this messenger of his sincerity that from henceforth he became his most ardent defender in

* MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 17.

† *Ibid.*, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 18 *seq.*; GRÜNHAGEN, Gesch. Schlesiens, I., 305 *seq.*

Rome. On the 12th September, 1460, the King assured the Pope that he adhered with unchanging fidelity to his oath; his delay arose from the difficulties of his position, but in the following February at the latest his Embassy would arrive to do homage; his sincere desire was by prudence to prepare the way for the restoration of the true faith.*

Meanwhile, in reality George's mind was occupied with matters of a very different nature. He sought to win the Crown of Germany, and as, with this object in view, he entered into a close alliance with the anti-Papal party there, he naturally again aroused the suspicions of the Roman Court; when this project failed, he next conceived the bold idea of becoming King of the Romans with the help of the Pope. Had Podiebrad really been a champion and Martyr of the Hussites, as some prejudiced historians have represented, it would have been impossible for him to have cherished such a scheme as this. In reality his religious convictions, as far as the term has any meaning as applied to a man of his stamp, "always retired out of sight whenever his political interest or his schemes of personal aggrandisement required them to disappear."†

Accordingly he now offered his services to Pius II., against the German opponents of the Papacy, formerly his own political friends, for he really cared as little about a rearrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany as about the so-called reform of the Empire. This is proved by the "Instruction for treating with the Pope,"

* Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 45, 47–8; MARKGRAF, *loc. cit.*, 21; BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 89–90.

† BACHMANN, Böhmen, 280, as opposed to Palacky, Droysen and Jordan; see also SYBEL, Hist. Zeitschr., V., 429. The Pope's suspicions are expressed in the * Brief of Nov. 6th, 1466, to Procopius von Rabenstein, Lib. brev. 9, f. 193, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

a draft which, though never seen by Pius II., is still a most important document. How, it may be asked, did George intend to win the Pope to his views? By nothing less than the reunion of Bohemia with the Church. He declared himself ready to consent that the Pope should appoint an Archbishop of Prague, or invest a worthy ecclesiastic with Archiepiscopal powers until such time as one should be lawfully appointed. If Pius II. would send a qualified Legate to Bohemia, the King, conjointly with the Administrator of the Archdiocese, would find means to restore the unity of faith in the kingdom without bloodshed. Nor would he have any difficulty in publicly and solemnly doing homage and professing obedience to the Holy See in the name of his whole kingdom, as his predecessors had done before him.* The severe measures taken by the King against the smaller sects in his kingdom (from March, 1461) seemed in harmony with these professions. The Utraquists became very uneasy, and the storm broke when, on Maundy Thursday, 1461, the Bishop of Breslau, of course in the absence of the wily Podiebrad, preached openly in the Castle of Prague against the administration of the Chalice to the laity. It now became evident that Rokyzana, supported by the Utraquist mob, was more powerful than the King, who, while stretching out his hand to grasp the Roman Crown, felt the ground beginning to give way under his feet. The excitement in Bohemia reached such a pitch that he deemed it prudent to abandon his hopes of the crown, and unreservedly

* BACHMANN, Böhmen, 296. The "Memorandum to the Pope," published by HÖFLER, Urkunden zur Gesch. Böhmens, 53 *seq.* (Prag, 1865), and HASSELHOLDT-STOCKHEIM, Urkunden, I., 1, 301, 316. See HÖFLER in the Sitzungsberichten der Königl. Böhm. Gesellschaft der Wiss., 1862, Juli-December, 51 *seq.*

to recognise Utraquism. An extraordinary Diet was assembled at Prague in the month of May, at which he solemnly promised to maintain the use of the Chalice for the laity, and also the Compact.*

Meanwhile Podiebrad had come to be thoroughly distrusted in Rome, "If the Bohemian Envoys do not soon arrive," wrote the faithful Fantino, "your Majesty will be disgraced; all now look on me as a liar."† A letter of safe-conduct for the Bohemians had been issued on the 30th June, 1461,‡ but still no one came. Pius II. waited yet another half-year, and at the end of that time his patience was at length exhausted. On the 1st January, 1462, he wrote to the Archbishop of Crete, whom he had sent to Vienna, Prague, and Breslau, and empowered him, in case the King should still delay to carry out his obligations as to the question of faith, indefinitely to postpone

* The original, according to PALACKY, IV., 2, 187, is in St. Wenzels-Archiv, Prague. The position taken up by George will be better understood by the consideration of a fact which BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 93, brings to light. The chief nobles, who had adhered to the ancient faith, were not prepared, for the sake of the restoration of Catholicism, to give up possession of the Church property they had acquired.

† Letter from Rome of 5th April, 1461, in PALACKY, Urkundl. Beiträge, 243–4. BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 142, writes: "This is the cry of distress of a faithful servant, who trembles for his master's cause and for his own good name."

‡ SOMMERSBERG, Siles. Rer. Script., I., 1030 (Lips., 1729), gives the text. B. Bonatto, writing from Rome on the 29th June, 1461, says: *"El Re de Boemia chi mostra havere intentione de ridure quelli heretici del paese suo a la unione cum la gesia, ha mandato a domandare uno salvo conducto per li ambasatori, intende de mandare fin a cento cavalli tra li quali sera quello suo principale de la sita, si domanda el Rochezana et vengono per disputare o confondere altro o esser confusi lor, non so quello ne seguira; el salvo conducto ge si mandato." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the submission of the citizens of Breslau. He was also to bring about an alliance against the King between that city and all the neighbouring powers, both within Silesia and beyond it, and pronounce void all contrary oaths, promises and agreements.*

At length, after three years of delay, Podiebrad made up his mind to send the Embassy. Its object was twofold, to do homage to the Pope in the name of the kingdom of Bohemia, and at the same time to ask for the confirmation of the compact!† Its composition was in harmony with its purpose, for it had two chiefs—the Catholic Chancellor Procopius von Rabenstein, and the Hussite, Zdenko Kostka, of Postupitz. Two Utraquist theologians, Wenzel Wrbensky and Wenzel Koranda, were among its members, and most of our information regarding the ensuing events is derived from the reports of these last.‡

The Envoys travelled slowly southwards, passing through Vienna, where Wolfgang Forchtenauer joined them as the representative of the Emperor. They reached Rome on the 10th of March. Here the general feeling was very unfavourable to the King. It was well-known that he only adopted this line of action because his plans had failed in Germany. Cardinal Cusa, whom the Pope had charged to examine the Bohemian affairs, was full of distrust.§ Pius II. himself, on the 11th of March, told the Milanese Ambassador in confidence that the semi-heretical King of Bohemia was utterly untrustworthy, and had been a dissimulator from his

* Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 70–1.

† See the Instruction in THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 130.

‡ See PALACKY, IV., 2, 218 *seq.*; JORDAN, 49 *seq.*; BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 197, and PATERA in the Archiv Cesky, Prag, 1888.

§ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 26.

childhood.* "No more unfortunate moment could have been selected by George for obtaining concessions which had hitherto been steadily refused by the Papal Court."† The whole position of ecclesiastical and political affairs had apparently changed greatly to the advantage of the restored Papacy.‡ Sigismund of the Tyrol persevered in his revolt, but the Archbishop of Mayence was virtually subdued, the German Conciliar party was broken up, and now the King of France was abandoning the Pragmatic Sanction. By a strange coincidence the Bohemian Ambassadors arrived just in time to witness this fresh triumph of the Papacy. In a private interview, Cardinal Bessarion at once pointed out to them the splendid example of Louis XI., who had renounced the Pragmatic Sanction; "and you must know," he added, "that in France one hundred and one Bishops, many great Abbeys, and a large number of the Clergy opposed this measure with all their might, but the King's determination carried it through. You see what renown he has gained by this. Your King has only to act in a similar manner to obtain a like reward."§

* PIUS II.'s words to O. de Carretto were: "*Ce ancora il Re de Boemia il qual benche mandi sua ambasiata, qual heri gionse qui a dare obedientia, tamen dice Sua S^ta^ e mezo heretico et e cativo de nido et non se ne puo pigliare fede." *Letter of Carretto of the 12th March, 1462; see *supra*, p. 141 *seq.* Ambrosian Library, Milan.

† MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen und Pius II., 26.

‡ What passed in secret was at the time but little known. There can be no doubt that in the conversation with Carretto of which a sketch has been given (*supra*, p. 141 *seq.*), Pius II. drew too dark a picture of his situation.

§ PALACKY, IV., 2, 220; see *supra*, p. 149, note §. BACHMANN (Reichsgesch., I., 199) is mistaken in saying, in his addition to VOIGT (III., 511), that Carvajal only returned at this time from his Mission to Hungary. The Cardinal had arrived in Rome by the 30th September,

On Friday, the 19th March, Kostka, the most confidential Councillor of King George, was summoned alone into the Pope's presence. In this interview Pius II. vainly endeavoured to convince the Bohemian Baron that the Compact was no longer valid, inasmuch as the generation to which it had been granted had nearly died out; moreover the Bohemians had violated it in many ways, and thus forfeited all right to it.

On the following day the Envoys had their audience. After an introductory discourse from the Imperial Plenipotentiary Forchtenauer, Chancellor Rabenstein spoke, excusing his master's long delay and proffering the profession of obedience in his name. Upon this the Pope remarked, "You make the profession of obedience in the King's name alone, whereas it is customary to make it in the name of the kingdom." The Chancellor hesitated, and did not venture to satisfy the Pope until Kostka, who was standing near him, had given his consent. Pius II. then asked if they had anything further to say, whereupon Professor Wenzel Koranda, who was opposite the Pope, began his address. "He spoke rapidly in a loud voice, and in the bold and arrogant tone which was usual among the Hussite preachers and disputants."* His long discourse culminated in a request that the Pope would confirm the Compact.

The Utraquist Professor in his conceit imagined that he had acquitted himself brilliantly; but the impression

1461; see *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. What PALACKY, IV., 2, 99, mentions regarding the secret sojourn of Carvajal in Bohemia, has already been stated by VOIGT in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., V., 446, note 30. I may add that in the Lib. brev. 9, f. 52, of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, "ex Wienna" is plainly written in the Brief of Pius II.

* VOIGT, III., 462.

left upon his Roman audience was that the Bohemian movement was, as it had formerly been, a revolutionary one, and that its spirit was thoroughly anti-religious. Its dangers were more clearly perceived than they had been, and there was a stronger conviction of the necessity of eradicating it at any cost. He was not ashamed, wrote one who had been present at the audience, "to maintain before these learned fathers that Communion in both kinds was necessary to salvation, being in accordance with the appointment of Jesus Christ; much of what he said was not to the point, and indeed simply ridiculous."*

Pius II. at once replied. Well acquainted as he was with Bohemian affairs he had no difficulty in thoroughly confuting his adversary. His address lasted two hours. "He went back to the origin of the State of Bohemia and its conversion to Christianity. He painted in glowing colours the intellectual and material prosperity of the country, and the happiness of the nation in the 13th and 14th centuries, while it remained in the unity of the Faith and enjoyed the blessings of a truly Christian life. Then, turning to the period since the rise of the Hussite heresy, he pointed out the contrast. The country was devastated. Learning had fallen into decay, and the political power of the nation was weakened, and its internal peace destroyed by the division of the people into two bitterly hostile religious bodies. The Compact, he said, was the melancholy symbol of this confusion. It had never been formally acknowledged by the Church, and on that very account was strenuously supported by the Hussites. Far from being a means for the restoration of a union between Bohemia and the Church, and of internal peace which the Holy See so earnestly desired, it was the chief hindrance in the way.

* BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 203–4. The Report cited is in the Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 85–6.

The question to be considered, therefore, was not how these articles might be confirmed, but how they might be set aside, and as the matter was one of the greatest importance, out of respect for the King, the Pope wished to take counsel with the Cardinals before giving a final answer to the Envoys."*

Fresh negotiations took place between the Bohemians and a Commission of Cardinals, but with no result. It was only agreed that Rome should send a Legate to Bohemia to treat with the King of matters for which the Envoys had no powers.

Meanwhile Pius II. had determined to draw out the logical conclusions which followed from the profession of obedience. On the 31st March an open Consistory was held in the presence of four thousand persons. "In calm and unimpassioned language," the Pope explained the reasons which made it impossible for him to recognise the Compact. It had only, he said, been agreed to on certain conditions. The Chalice had been granted to the laity on the understanding that in every other matter they should conform to the Church; this condition had never been fulfilled, and therefore the concession which depended on it did not hold. "We, with our brethren the Cardinals, have revised the copies of that agreement and found, and hereby publicly declare, that your priests cannot lawfully give the Chalice to the laity. You have, indeed, requested us to grant permission, but this is for many reasons impossible. In the first place, our predecessors have constantly refused to do so, and the concession would give scandal to the rest of Christendom. In the second place, it would be prejudicial to you, for there would be danger of encouraging a heretical belief that Christ is not wholly present under one species. A third reason is the risk of spilling the Precious Blood on

* BACHMANN, I., 204.

the ground, which has often happened in former times. Fourthly, the unity and peace of your kingdom would be endangered, for the majority of the Bohemians will not hear of Communion under both kinds. Concessions cannot be required from those who are walking in the footsteps of their forefathers, but rather from those who have turned aside to novelties. Fifthly, should we accede to your desires, your good relations with your neighbours would be imperilled. You do not know what a hurtful thing you are asking. As a faithful shepherd guards his sheep that they may not stray, so are We bound to watch that the nations do not wander from the way of salvation. Because We desire your salvation therefore We refuse your request. Unite yourselves with the rest of Christendom, and the glory and peace of former days will again return to your kingdom."*

When the Pope had concluded his speech, Antonio da Gubbio, Commissary for matters of Faith, read the following declaration :—" The Compact which the Council of Basle granted to the Utraquists is annulled and abolished ; Communion under both kinds is not necessary to salvation ; the Holy Father will not recognise the obedience professed in the name of the King of Bohemia, until both the King and the nation shall have conformed to the Catholic Church in every particular."†

The abolition of the Compact was a most important step, and was not determined upon without anxious deliberation on the part of the Holy See.‡ The matter did not admit of

* MANSI, II., 93–100 ; PALACKY, IV., 2, 229 *seq.* The Pope's speech, with some variations, is often to be found in manuscript ; as in Frankfort, City Archives, Reichssachen, 4220–22 ; in Kremsmünster, Abbatial Library, Cod. 4, f. 103–5 ; in Vienna, Court Library, Cod. 3609, f. 225–7 ; 4453, f. 384–5 ; 4764, f. 181–5 ; 13,760, *f. 1–3.

† BACHMANN, I., 198, 208.

‡ See *ibid.*, I., 207.

further delay: "now that the reforms of Basle had been almost universally repudiated, the Compact would have been a scandal to the other nations, and a constant danger of schism and heresy to the Bohemians."* Moreover, the Compact had been intended to bring about the reunion of Bohemia with the Church, in return for the grant of the Chalice to the laity; the Bohemians, however, used it as an instrument for the destruction of all conformity with the Church. What right had they now to complain of the repeal of an agreement which they had themselves so often broken and so greatly abused? "Was the Compact, as it was now interpreted, the same as that made by the Council of Basle? Was not this request for its confirmation equivalent to a demand for the sanction of the abuses which had been practised by its means?" †

Podiebrad did not at once stand up to defend the Compact, but let a considerable time pass before he declared himself. His position had from the first been a false one, since in his secret Coronation Oath he had promised that it should be abolished. It had now become impossible for him to fulfil his engagement. Hitherto the existence of this Oath had been concealed from all but a few confidential persons. In May the Pope resolved to make it more widely known. By this means pressure would be brought to bear upon George, "for Pius II. still hoped that the King could be induced to submit. If he could be persuaded to set the example by conforming to the Catholic ritual, the people were sure to follow."‡ Such was the spirit of the instructions given

* FRIND, IV., 57; PALACKY, IV., 2, 7.

† HÖFLER, in the Lit. Beilage der Mittheilungen des Vereins für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, II., 10–11. See also Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung, III., 179, 202. BACHMANN (Georgs Wahl, 131) justly observes that Rome was not to be a second time deceived by feigned obedience.

‡ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 29, 37; GRÜNHAGEN, I., 308.

to Fantino de Valle, formerly Procurator to the King, when he was sent to Prague. Fantino had up to this time confidently maintained in Rome that the King intended to fulfil his Coronation Oath. Who could be better fitted now to call upon him to redeem his word?

The Legate reached Prague in the fourth week after Easter, but had to wait a long time for an audience from the King, who hoped by delay to strengthen and improve his position. He was at this time much occupied with an extravagant project suggested to him by Antoine Marini, a Frenchman, who had recently entered his service. The fundamental idea of Marini's scheme was "that all Christian Princes and nations would never cease to cling to Rome and be loyal to her as long as the Holy See alone took thought for the defence of Christendom against the advance of the Turk." The Turkish question must therefore be taken out of the hands of the Pope. It was to be solved, and the pacification of Christendom was to be secured by a grand Alliance to be concluded between Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, France, Burgundy, and Venice. The Holy See was thus to be deprived of its European influence, and George was to obtain the Imperial Crown of Byzantium. A General Council, moreover, was to assemble "to reform the Church, that is to say, to depose the Pope and confirm the Compact." The plan also included an International Court of Justice, and a "Parliament of States," in which, apparently, the French King was to preside, and which was to settle all disputes among the Confederates.*

* See regarding Marini and his project, VOIGT, III., 487 *seq.*; PALACKY, IV., 2, 239 *seq.*, and the detailed account of MARKGRAF in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 245 *seq.* Marini was sent to Venice in the beginning of July, 1462. George Podiebrad wrote on the 3rd July [1462] from Prague to the Doge: "Mittimus strenuum Antonium Marini de Francia cui comisimus nonnulla bonum statum ecclesie

This wild project, which aimed at revolutionising the whole political system of Europe, found little favour at the different Courts. Casimir of Poland, indeed, who was involved in a serious contest with the Pope regarding the appointment of the Bishop of Cracow, developed a sudden zeal for the war against the Infidel.* But the powerful Republic of Venice, although at the time somewhat at variance with Rome on account of Malatesta, was utterly opposed to the exclusion of the Holy See from the Turkish war. The Duke of Burgundy, who was friendly to the Pope, shewed no disposition to let himself be beguiled by Marini. Louis XI. treated him with more courtesy ; an alliance between France and Bohemia might be useful for bringing pressure to bear on Pius II., but the Council was rejected by the French monarch, and he was by no means over zealous in promoting a scheme by which Podiebrad would be the chief gainer.†

Meanwhile diplomatic action on the side of Rome had also commenced. "It was characterised by a far greater unity of purpose and practical efficiency than that of its opponents, being based upon fixed principles and real existing relations. Fantino had now received special powers enabling him to enter into alliances with the Catholic Lords of Bohemia, the Silesian Princes and the Bishop of Breslau, and to treat more fully with the City." Next came the publication of the Secret Coronation Oath.

sancte Dei et christiane religionis defensionem concernentia V^re^ Ex. referre." I found a copy of this letter, which seems not yet to have been published, in Cod. Lat. XIII.–XC., f. 14b of St. Mark's Library, Venice. Marini's *Treatise De unione Christianorum contra Turcos is in Cod. 15,606, f. 1 *seq.*, of the Library at Munich. See Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie, 1875, II., 219 *seq.*

* SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., V., 465 ; CARO, V., 1, 191 *seq.*

† VOIGT, III., 489 *seq.*

"This was a well-considered step; if the King kept his promises the Document revealed only that which all the world might know; if he did not, it convicted him of perjury and duplicity."* The Czech monarch preferred the latter alternative.

On the 12th of August, 1462, negotiations were opened at Prague with the Court, which had been transferred thither, and Podiebrad, emboldened by the improvement in his position, determined to lay aside the mask by which, at the time of his election and Coronation, he had sought to gain the Pope, the Bishops, and the Catholic Party. He now formally and solemnly declared himself an Utraquist. He concluded his speech on that day with the following words:—"Let all men know that we have been born, brought up, and by the Grace of God have ascended the Throne in the practice of Communion under both kinds. We are resolved to maintain it, and to live and die in it. Our Consort, our Children, and all who love us must likewise uphold the Compact."†

George's speech had a twofold object: first, by a strong demonstration in favour of the grant of the Chalice to the laity, he meant to secure the Utraquists, and secondly, to take the Catholics by surprise. He hoped to raise his own personal quarrel to the rank of a question of State, and to obtain the sanction of the nation for his double-dealing. He completely failed, though Kostka, as the spokesman of the Utraquists, promised unconditional adhesion, Zdenko of Sternberg, the leader of the Catholics, declared that in temporal matters they would render obedience to him, but they had never had anything to do with the Compact. He

* BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 228. Evidence of the superiority of Rome in the sphere of Politics is here given in detail. See also SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 275 *seq.*

† PALACKY, Urkundl. Beitr., 275; MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 33.

had taken it up without asking their advice; let those now help him who had counselled the step.*

On the 13th August Fantino was admitted to the King's presence, but he was not given the rank of a Papal Nuncio.† He began by claiming the freedom of speech conceded to Ambassadors, well aware that in the King's present temper an appeal to the right of nations was by no means superfluous. He then enlarged on the absolute necessity of the abolition of the Compact, and insisted that, in virtue of his Coronation Oath and of his profession of Obedience, Podiebrad was bound to carry out the reunion of Bohemia with the Church. "If we may believe the Breslau chronicler, who from his party-position was deeply interested in the course of these events, the Catholics were much encouraged by the clear and practical discourse of the Legate, which made an impression also on the advocates of the Chalice. Had Girsik (George), says the chronicler, but said the five words, "I will obey the Pope," the whole nation would have stood by him.‡ The King, however, bluntly rejected the demand of the Papal Legate. It had never crossed his mind, he said, to abolish the Compact; on the contrary, he meant to live and die in it.

If we remember how firm a champion Fantino had hitherto been of George's good faith, we can understand the shock which the Legate must have received on hearing this cynical denial of his obligations. He stood speechless for a moment, as if stunned by a blow. Then he reminded the

* BACHMANN, Reichsgesch., I., 236 *seq.* Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch., IX., 220. George deeply felt the failure of his attempt to surprise the Catholics, as is evident from his appearance at the Assembly of Clergy at Prague in September, 1462, where the Catholics again "unanimously" refused to uphold the Compact as he required.

† VOIGT, III., 475.

‡ BACHMANN, I., 239.

King of his engagement, adding that if he persisted in adhering to this declaration he might justly be charged with perjury. The King angrily interrupted him, but the Nuncio was not to be intimidated. In a louder tone he proclaimed all ecclesiastics who held to the Compact to have forfeited their posts; should the King and his family persist in their error they too would incur the penalties of the Church. As he had himself become the King's Procurator in the firm belief that he would give up the Compact and Communion under both kinds, he now resigned his office.

For a moment it seemed as if the King, who was pale with rage, would have sprung upon his adversary, and it was with some difficulty that he at length controlled himself sufficiently to allow Fantino to depart. But as soon as he was gone his wrath burst forth afresh; he would not live another moment without avenging himself; Rome was not the Holy See, but a plague spot; the Holy See was formed by the union of all the faithful, and that was certainly not to be found in Rome.*

The effect produced by the "uncompromising attitude of the Champion of the Roman Church" can hardly be overestimated. "It was, indeed, long since such words had been heard in Bohemia! Many a one, while adhering to the Chalice, had deemed himself by virtue of the Compact a good Catholic Christian. Now he found both it and himself condemned by the Pope. Many another, while rejecting the Chalice, had, for the sake of peace, held fellowship with those who received it, and now it appeared that the Pope judged such peace and fellowship a sin. Decision and courage in the defenders of a cause go a great way in making it popular."† Recognising this danger, the faithless

* Bachmann, I., 240.

† Voigt, III., 476.

King took a fresh step on the downward path, and on the morrow, in gross violation of the right of nations, sent the Papal Envoy to prison.*

At this direct outrage on the Pope and the Catholics, the Bishop of Breslau, Sternberg, and other noblemen indignantly left the Bohemian capital.† The breach with Rome and with the Catholics of Bohemia was now an accomplished fact.

When King George came to himself he perceived that his impetuosity had driven him to the brink of an abyss. He wrote letters to friendly Princes, and one even to the "Holy Father" himself, in which he styled himself his "obedient son," and sought to palliate conduct which was in fact inexcusable. Pius II., "in firm but calm language, required that Fantino should be released;" and on the 26th of October he was set free, his servants and horses, however, being retained.‡ From this time forth George strained every nerve to avert by diplomacy and dissimulation any decided action on the part of Rome, and even to obtain the confirmation of the Compact.

It is difficult to understand how the Czech monarch could cherish such vain hopes. The explanation is perhaps to be found in his early training. "Reared from his childhood in party strife, George Podiebrad was an adept in political chicanery, and had unlimited faith in the power of corruption and intimidation, and all the arts of diplomacy. It was incredible to him that any political power could be really guided by principles or by moral motives. He sup-

* Fantino had scorned to fly from the danger which threatened him. On his way to the prison George cried out, that he could hardly keep his hands off him, whereupon the Nuncio rejoined that he could desire no greater honour than to die by the hand of the King.

† DLUGOSS, 294; VOIGT, III., 477.

‡ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 34; BACHMANN, I., 243.

posed the differences between himself and the Holy See to be merely a question of politics, and therefore capable of being solved at any moment by a change of circumstances."*

The King of Bohemia had gained an important advocate in the Emperor. Frederick undertook, as a reward to Podiebrad for having delivered him out of the hands of the rebels at Vienna, to arrange the dispute with Rome and avert its unpleasant consequences. His influence with the Holy See did in effect prove strong enough to induce the Pope, at the end of 1462, to suspend all the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by George.† He chose, however, to understand the settlement as including a confirmation of the Compact, an interpretation which, it need hardly be said, was at once repudiated by Pius II. When, soon after, the Pope took the people of Breslau under his protection, the King reverted to his project of a European Confederation of Princes. "Formerly he had endeavoured to win the Pope by fair words and promises, now he intended to intimidate him by menaces."‡ Louis XI.'s irritation against the Holy See seemed likely to make him look with favour on a scheme which meant opposition to Rome, and, in fact, he appeared to welcome the proposals of the King. He kept clear, however, of any definite engagements; and when Marini visited Venice in February, 1463, the promise of a levy of forces against the Turks was gratefully acknowledged, but the necessity of an understanding with Rome, as well as with Hungary, was also insisted on.§

Through Antonio da Noceto, who was in his service and living in France, Pius II. had in January, 1463, heard

* VOIGT, III., 480–1.

† See PALACKY, Urkundl. Beiträge, 287 *seq.*

‡ VOIGT, III., 487.

§ BACHMANN, I., 408.

of Marini's intrigues at the French Court,* and lost no time in taking measures to counteract them. In October of this year, Rome, Burgundy and Venice entered into a League against the Turks, and thus effectually worsted the Bohemian King and his hare-brained Councillor.†

The Pope had accordingly nothing further to fear from this side. Why, it may be asked, did he, notwithstanding the importunity of the citizens of Breslau, still hesitate to proceed further with the Bohemian question? Many motives combined to keep him back. In the first place, Pius II. was naturally averse to violent measures. And, in spite of all that had taken place, he was not exasperated against George, "whose difficult position he understood, and who, he believed, had power and skill enough, if he would be firm and courageous, to bring the Hussites back to the Church." Then the ever-growing danger from the Turks drove the interests of Bohemia into the background. Finally, it was an ancient and abiding principle with Rome to neglect nothing, but to hurry nothing.‡ In the end,

* MARKGRAF in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 289, supposes Pius II. to have obtained the information through the Court of Burgundy. As evidence that the Pope was aware of the whole scope of the project, he cites a letter which Fantino de Valle wrote on the 23rd May, 1463, from Rome to Breslau (published in Script. Rer. Siles., VIII., 202 *seq.*). The first supposition is mistaken, as we learn from the *Report of O. de Carreto, of 13th January, 1453, which I found in the Ambrosian Library. From the same Report we gather the date at which Pius II. became acquainted with the matter. See the passage on the subject in Appendix N. 57.

† The final result of the negotiations with France was very unsatisfactory to Podiebrad. The alliance concluded between him and Louis XI. was of the vaguest character. The grand scheme of an anti-Papal, cosmopolitan Union had to be completely abandoned; see MARKGRAF in Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr., XXI., 302 *seq.*

‡ MARKGRAF, Georg von Böhmen, 29; VOIGT, III., 492; BACHMANN, I., 399, 484.

however, the patience of Pius II. was exhausted by the perpetual prevarications of the King, who only aimed at gaining time and bringing Breslau into subjection. In the spring of 1464, in the midst of the preparations for the expedition against the Turks, proceedings founded on his Coronation Oath were commenced against George as a perjured and relapsed heretic. In an open Consistory (16th June, 1464), it was decided that he should be summoned to Rome,* and the Bull of Citation had actually been drawn up when the Pope died.†

* Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch., IX., 256 *seq.*; BACHMANN, I., 501 *seq.*

† Forschungen zur Deutsch. Gesch., IX., 257–8; Script. Rer. Siles., IX., 77–90; BACHMANN, I., 501, has overlooked the more ample Bull of June 16th, 1464 (according to VOIGT, III., 500, also in Cod. I. G. 34 of the University Library at Prague). PALACKY, IV., 2, 313, who certainly made use of this MS., gives from it the wrong date (15th June), published by CUGNONI, 145–54 (1883).

CHAPTER VI.

THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1460–1463.—INDIFFERENCE OF THE ITALIAN POWERS. — EASTERN ENVOYS AND FUGITIVES IN ROME.—THE LAST OF THE PALÆOLOGI.—CHARLOTTE OF LUSIGNAN.—PIUS II. WRITES TO THE SULTAN EXHORTING HIM TO BECOME A CHRISTIAN.—THE HEAD OF THE APOSTLE ST. ANDREW IN ROME.—DISCOVERY OF THE ALUM MINES OF TOLFA.—TREBIZOND, LESBOS AND BOSNIA SUBJUGATED BY THE TURKS.—THE POPE DETERMINES TO LEAD THE CRUSADE IN PERSON.

WHILE Western Christendom was consumed by internecine strife, the Conqueror of Constantinople pursued his victorious course in the East. In order "to complete the circle of his Empire in this region, it was necessary to bring into subjection the independent Greek, Albanian, and South Slavonian countries that lay scattered within its boundaries, on the broad line between the limits of the Venetian territory and Trebizond." Fortune favoured the Turks, and the new power that had arisen on the shores of the Bosphorus threatened "to be a greater danger to Western Christendom with its thousand divisions than the inroads of the Hun and the Mongol in former days."* In the summer of 1459 Servia had been constrained to bow beneath the Ottoman yoke. The Greek Schismatics preferred Islam to union with the Catholic Church, and the Papal garrison of the Island of Lemnos had been overpowered

* HERTZBERG, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 602, 637.

through their treachery.* In 1460 the power of the Palæologi in the Morea was crushed, and the glorious Parthenon changed from a Church of our Lady into a Mosque.† Onward and onward the Turk pressed with fire and sword, filling these countries, once the most beautiful and flourishing in the world, with ruin and desolation. The Eastern question became more and more alarming; it was the "oldest and most important of all the questions of foreign policy that Christendom had ever had to deal with."

The life or death character of the struggle with the barbarism of Islam in which Christian civilisation was engaged was fully appreciated at Rome. From the time of his accession, Pius II. had, like his predecessor Calixtus III., been anxiously occupied with the affairs of the East; but in the early days of his Pontificate, at the Congress of Mantua, he had to endure bitter disappointments. During the troubles which followed the arrival of the Duke of Calabria in Naples he had never lost sight of his great object.‡

The first thing to be done was to obtain the accomplishment of the promises solemnly made at the Congress.

* CRITOBULOS, 128 *seq.*; HEYD-RAYNAUD, II., 321; KLAIČ, 407; KALLAY, Gesch. der Serben 169 (Budapest, 1878). Regarding the oppression of Latin Priests in Crete by the Greeks, see **S. Mar. VII., f. 23 (1461, June 27). State Archives, Venice.

† HERTZBERG, Griechenland, 574 *seq.*; HOPF, Griechenland, 128; MICHAELIS, Der Parthenon, p. 55 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Athen im Mittelalter, II., 396.

‡ See GREGOROVIUS, VII., 190, 3rd ed. Poets and orators chose the Turkish question when they could, as the theme most pleasing to the Pope. See *Ludov. Donati ap. sedis prothonotarii orationes tres habitæ Senis apud P. M. Pium II., N. 2: Pro gloriosissimi doctoris Augustini celebritate. Senis in aede eiusdem b. Augustini 1460, V. Cal. Sept. A beautiful MS. adorned with miniatures from the collection left by Pius II. now in the University Library, Pisa S. 4, 537.

Even during his journey from Mantua to Siena, Pius II. urged this matter on the different powers. But he met with hardly any response. Evasive and unsatisfactory answers reached him from various quarters. Duke Borso of Este, although he had with his own hand signed the Decree regarding the levy of the tithes, would not be the first to let the collection take place in his territory, and sent back the Papal messengers.* In vain did the Pope reproach him with his ingratitude and faithlessness, in vain did he threaten him with Excommunication.† Borso would not keep his word, and at a later period even supported Sigismondo Malatesta in his attack on the States of the Church.‡

The wealthy Florentines behaved no better. When Pius II., during his sojourn in their city, spoke to them of the fulfilment of the decrees of Mantua, he was informed that the promises of the Envoys must be confirmed by the Great Council, and that there was no prospect that it would permit the tax to be levied on the laity. Hopes were held out that the tithes from the clergy might be collected, but when it came to the point this also was prohibited.§

Hoping that some change of mind might have taken place among the influential leaders of the Republic, Pius II. sent his confidential friend Goro Lolli to Venice, but his representations were without effect. The cold and calculating policy of the Signoria, whatever might befall, was

* Pii II. Comment. 95 *seq.*; *Brief to Borso of the 1st April, 1460, see Appendix N. 39. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Pii II. Epist. 10, ed. Mediolan.; Villari, Savonarola, I., 9; Ranke, Hist. Biogr. Studien, p. 223 (Leipzig, 1877), is strangely mistaken in saying that Borso "had contributed largely to the undertaking."

‡ Brief to Borso, without date. (Non deberes malorum patrocinium tam aperte suscipere). Lib. brev. 9, f. 229, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Pii II. Comment. 96, and particularly the vehement *Complaints of Nic. Palmerius who was sent as Papal Nuncio to Florence, 1460, March 17, X. 1–52, f. 54–6. State Archives, Florence.

to keep on good terms with the powerful enemy of Christendom.*

The exhortations of the Pope were thrown away on these short-sighted worshippers of Mammon. And even the threat of severe spiritual penalties produced little effect in Bologna and other places. Many who would not pay were not frequenters of the Sacraments. The chronicler, who relates this, adds that the money was by no means destined for the Turkish war, that it was all a cheat, and that the contributions were not demanded anywhere, save in Bologna.† On the other hand, it was asserted that a great deal of money had been collected in that city for the defence of the Faith.‡ All the inhabitants did not share the anti-Roman sentiments of the chronicler. A glance at the Registers in the Secret Archives of the Vatican suffices to shew the falsity of the assertion, that tribute for the Turkish war was not claimed from other states. Even during the Congress, and immediately after its close, Nuncios and Collectors were sent to Norway, Sweden, Lithuania, various districts in Germany and Italy, to England, Scotland, Ireland, Aragon, Castille, and Leon. Some of the Briefs on this subject are dated from Siena, and some from the Baths of Macereto and Petriolo, an evidence of the zeal and earnestness displayed by the Pope.§

* Pii II. Comment. 95.

† Cronica di Bologna, 732. See also *Ghirardacci, St. di Bologna, f. 339; Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna.

‡ Annal Bonon., 892. See Atti dell' Emilia, N. S., IV., 169.

§ Brief to Florence, dated Mantua, 1459 (st. fl.), Jan. 17. "Dilectumque filium Ignatium abbatem monasterii S. Mariae de Florentia ordinis S. Benedicti presentium exhibitorem cum plena facultate exigendi decimam, trigesimam et vigesimam huiusmodi in vestro dominio collectorem et nuntium nostrum per literas nostras sicut videre poteritis deputavimus." State Archives, Florence, X., 2–23, f. 69b–70. *Regest. 471, f. 301 *seq.*: "Marinus de Fregeno (see

The results obtained were certainly small; a strange indifference prevailed in almost all the Christian States regarding the danger which threatened from the East, although it was a favourite subject with the Humanistic Poets and Rhetoricians.* The Decree for the levy of the Tithes from the members of the Roman Court was published at Siena on the 24th February, 1460.† Soon, however, it became known that some Prelates and Cardinals, especially those whose sympathies were with France, "did not set the good example of paying, but the evil one of murmuring and resisting."‡ In Italy, Pius II. complains to Cardinal Bessarion in May, 1460, that "people are far from manifesting the alacrity we had hoped for. Few are mindful of the engagements they made at Mantua."§ France and Germany, the most war-like

GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.) constituitur nuntius et commissarius pro regnis Norvegie, Gotie et Lituanie, d. Mantuae, 1459 tert. Non. Jul." Conf. f. 341, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 75. Reg. 476, f. 77: "Franciscus ep. Interamnen. constituitur collector in regnis Anglie, Scotie et Ibernie, d. Senis, 1459, xiii. Cal. Mart. A° 2°"; f. 281: "Antonius de Senis constituitur nuntius et collector in partibus Mediolan. Derthon, Alexand. Novarien. etc., civit. et dioc., d. Petrioli, 1460, x. Cal. Julii A° 2°." Conf., f. 327, f. 289: "Ant. de Veneriis constituitur collector et nuntius in reg. Castellae et Legionis, d. Macerati, 1460, iii. Cal. Junii A° 2°." See also Reg. 514, f. 35b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See for example the Eroticon of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, lib. V., f. 58b (Venice, 1513), and Pietro Apollonio Collazio's "Epistolarum liber" (published at Novara, 1878, at the expense of the Library, not for sale). Here are seven Latin letters, in verse, addressed to the most eminent Princes and to Pius II., pp. 11–15.

† Mandatum solutionis decime pro curialibus, dat. Senis, 1460, Febr. 24, A° 2°; PII II., Div. lib. I., f. 73 *seq.*, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm., XXIX., T. 29.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 10; VOIGT, III., 107.

§ Brief of May 5th, 1460. Lib. brev. 9, f. 201b–202. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

of the Western powers, were even less zealous than Italy. The fair promises in most cases came to nothing.*

In this deplorable state of things, any great undertaking was impossible. Pius II. had for the time to content himself with giving assistance to the most oppressed, as far as his small means and the troubles in Naples and the States of the Church permitted, and with keeping the idea of a Crusade alive until better days should dawn. His strongest opponents cannot deny that he did this to the utmost of his power.†

While the Pope was at Siena, Moses Giblet, Archdeacon of Antioch, a scholar well-versed in Greek and Syrian literature, arrived in that city. He came as Envoy from the Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, the Prince of Caramania, Ibrahimbeg, and other Oriental Rulers who hoped that Pius II. would deliver them from the Turkish yoke. He bore letters from these various Eastern potentates declaring their adhesion to the Florentine Union. Pius received him both in private audience and publicly, and on the 21st April, 1460, caused a memorandum to be drawn up recording these professions of obedience. This Document, together with a Latin translation of the letters of the Patriarchs and Princes, was deposited in the Archives of the Church. It is preserved in a book prepared for the purpose, and distinguished from other contemporary Registers by its careful penmanship and arrangement. It was called "The Red Book" on account of its handsome red binding.‡

* See *supra*, p. 61 *seq.* The fact that Mantua does not possess the smallest memorial of the meeting of the Congress accords well with this.

† Regarding the seriousness of the Pope's intentions, see Appendix N. 42.

‡ Secret Archives of the Vatican, Arm. IV., caps. III., N. 1, or A.; see Mittheilungen d. Œsterr. Instituts, V., 618 *seq.* Kaltenbrunner is here

It is worthy of notice that Pius II. never again mentioned this great event. Possibly, even at the time, he may have had doubts of the genuineness of the mission and the letters.*

At the end of December of this year (1460), a fresh Embassy from the East arrived in Rome, whither the Pope had by that time returned.† The Romans were astonished

wrong in stating that the last Document drawn up by Moses himself, bears date 16th April, 1460. Document, f. 23, in which he declares his acceptance of the Florentine Decree of Union in the name of those who have sent him, concludes with the following words : *" Ego Moyses Giblet hic an[te] nominatus archidiaconus Anthiochenus indignus servitor V^re S^tis hec scripta manu propria signita confiteor. Dat. Senis die xxi. mensis Aprilis, 1460." From the Documents before us, it is hard to decide whether Giblet was acting in a straightforward manner. Ibrahimbeg's letter (*Lib. rub., f. 22b) conveys the impression of being genuine : it is not directed to Giblet's advantage. More suspicion may attach to the other letters which praise his zeal for the Church. Giblet's signature, f. 24b, made "Jo. Bapt. Gonfalonerius Arch. S. Angeli custos" doubt him as long ago as 1633. The letters of the Patriarchs Joachim of Antioch, Marcus of Alexandria, and Joachim of Jerusalem (thus in the Documents of the Papal Archives. By these LE QUIEN, III., 515, is to be corrected) may be genuine, according to the opinion of my colleague Bickell, to whom I shewed them ; FROMMANN, also (200, note, and 246) believes that the three Patriarchs really joined the Union, "yet the affair had no practical result." See also, in regard to this Embassy, PII II. Comment. 103, and PHIL. DE LIGNAMINE, 1308, where, however, is an error in the date. The Giblets were among the most distinguished of the Syrian nobles ; see MAS-LATRIE, Chypre, 341 (Paris, 1879).

* VOIGT, III., 644.

† I found, in a **Letter written by Carlo de Franzoni from Rome to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua in 1460, in nocte S. Stephani, the date of the arrival of the Envoys which was not known : "Le venuto," says Carlo, "da sei giorni in qua una nova generation de ambasiatori che già gran tempo non furono mandati al summo pontefice, etc." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With this agrees a Record in the State Archives at Florence, published by MÜLLER, Doc. 188. The Brief of

at the appearance of the Envoys of Emperor David of Trebizond, of the King of Persia, the Prince of Georgia, and other Eastern Rulers in their strange Oriental attire.* The Persian and Mesopotamian Envoys attracted particular attention ; the latter had his head smooth-shaven like a monk, with the exception of a little crown of hair and a tuft at the top. The travellers had come through Austria and Hungary to Venice, and had there been honourably received, a circumstance which convinced the Pope of the genuine character of the Embassy. They presented letters in grand eloquent language from their Princes. Their interpreter and guide was Lodovico of Bologna, a Franciscan Observantine, who, in the days of Nicholas V. and Calixtus III., had travelled much in the East and made many friends there. He now held out hopes of a political combination, such as had often been contemplated in Western Christendom. The attack of the European powers on the Turks was to be seconded by parallel action on the part of the Oriental Rulers. Lodovico made the most splendid promises as to the immense number of troops they would furnish. Pius II., who had already entered into alliance with the Prince of Caramania, entertained the Envoys at his own expense, and advised them to visit, not only the Italian Princes, but the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, without whose co-operation the Crusade could scarcely be undertaken. They agreed to follow this advice, but asked the Pope to supply them with money for their journeys, and to appoint Lodovico of Bologna Patriarch of the Oriental Christians.†

October 4, 1458, whereby the privileges granted by former Popes were confirmed in favour of Lodovico of Bologna, is in WADDING, XIII., 60.

* FALLMERAYER, Trapezunt, 263 *seq.*, and BROSSET, 408–10, give details.

† PII II. Comment. 127 *seq.* ; CAMPANUS, 988–9 ; PLATINA, 735 ;

Although provided with Papal letters of recommendation, the Easterns brought nothing back, either from the French or the Burgundian Court, but empty words. This time their reception was less friendly; suspicions of fraud had arisen. Lodovico had, on his own authority, assumed the title of Patriarch, granted dispensations, and collected money everywhere. The Pope gave the Envoys money for their journey home, but refused to nominate Lodovico Patriarch. Soon afterwards, learning that he had carried his audacity so far as to contrive, on false pretences, to obtain consecration in Venice, Pius II. gave orders for his imprisonment. Warned by the Doge, Lodovico fled, and the Pope who, from henceforth, looked with suspicion on all messages from the East, never again heard of him.*

It is difficult to say, from the reports of this Embassy which are before us, and considering the defective means of communication in those times, how far it was fictitious in its character.† We may at least affirm that Michele degli Aldighieri, the representative of the Emperor of

Annal. Bonon., 891 ; WADDING, XIII., 153 *seq.*; MÜLLER, Doc. 185 ; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 75. In Regest. 479, f. 65, I found *Nicolaus Tiphlo [Nic. Tephelus, *cf.* WADDING, *loc. cit.*], constituitur baiulus in civitate Tiphli regis Persarum. "Cum tu a chariss. in Christo filio nostro rege Persarum illustri pro causis fidei christiane ad nos missus, etc." Dat. Romae, 1460 (st. fl.), Id. Jan. A° 3°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* PII II. Comment. *loc. cit.* ; WADDING, XIII., 155 ; Mém. de J. du Clercq, IV., c. 27 ; GACHARD-BARANTE, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne II., 179 *seq.* (Bruxelles, 1838), Dagboek der Gentsche collatie uitg. door Schayes 441–3, (Gent, 1842) ; FREDERICQ, 43 ; HEYD-RAYNAUD, 363–4.

† HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 144. Here a fact, which took place in the time of Sixtus IV., is brought forward in support of the genuineness of the Embassy ; VOIGT (III., 650), who maintains the existence of fraud, omits all mention of it. See also BROSSET, 407.

Trebizond, was no deceiver. It can hardly be supposed that a man of his stamp would have travelled through Europe in the company of impostors.* Whatever may have been the real nature of this Embassy, it is however, certain that the efforts of the Pope to call forth a Crusade, elicited a movement amongst Mahomet's enemies in Asia, which, under more favourable circumstances, might have proved a serious danger to him.

A deeper sensation than that caused by the appearance of the Envoys was soon aroused in Rome by that of the dethroned Eastern Princes, who now began to arrive. It had long been one of the most treasured privileges of the Holy See to shelter and befriend the exiled and the unfortunate, and seldom had the claims on that hospitality been more urgent than at this period.

On the 7th May, 1461, Thomas, the dethroned "Despot of the Morea," came to Rome.† In the beginning of the previous year he had been rash enough to break a treaty made with the Porte, and to quarrel with his brother Demetrius. The consequence was that Mahomet determined to bring the rule of the Palæologi in the Morea to an end. The cowardice and degeneracy of the Greeks were now deplorably manifested. Demetrius submitted, and gave the Sultan his daughter for his harem. Mahomet plainly told him that he meant to get rid of the Palæologi. The whole country was devastated, and horrible outrages were committed. On the 28th July, 1460, Thomas quitted the Peloponnesus in despair, and sought shelter in Venice. From thence, on the 16th November, by the Pope's invitation, he proceeded to Ancona, bringing with him a precious relic, the head of the Apostle St. Andrew from Patras. This

* Heyd-Raynaud, 363, note 2.

† Report of B. Bonatto, of 9th March, 1461 ; see Appendix N. 43. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

he gave to Cardinal Oliva, who, by order of Pius II., deposited it provisionally in the strong fortress of Narni.*

The Lord of the Morea bore a striking resemblance to the statue of St. Paul which formerly stood in front of St. Peter's. He is described as a grave and handsome man, about fifty-six years of age. He wore a long black cloak and a white hat of a material resembling velvet. Of the seventy horses which formed his train, three only were his own. The Pope received the unfortunate Prince in a Consistory held in the Hall of the Papagallo, assigned to him as his abode the Palace near SS. Quattro Coronati, and provided for his maintenance.† On Lætare Sunday he sent him the Golden Rose, and, with the assistance of the Cardinals, granted him a yearly pension of 6000 ducats.‡

* Hopf, Griechenland, 131 *seq.*; Hertzberg, Griechenland, II., 574 *seq.*; Fallmerayer, Morea, II., 375 *seq.*; Voigt, III., 650 *seq.* Regarding the head of St. Andrew, see Pii II. Comment. 192 *seq.*; Peruzzi, Storia d'Ancona, 356. Thomas Palæologus afterwards presented the Pope with another relic. Otto de Carretto writes to Francesco Sforza from Siena, 1464, May 6: *"Lo despota ha donato [see the Document in Cugnoni, 337 *seq.*, *cf. ibid.*, p. 49] a la S^ta^ de N. S. lo brazo dextro di S. Giohanni Bapt. qual haveva portato da Constantinopoli e questa matina e stato ditto brazo portato in processione accompagnato da la S^ta^ de N. S. e da tutta la corte . . . con gran divotione." (State Archives, Milan.) This sacred treasure is still preserved in Siena, see Faluschi, 13. About this time the Turks also attacked the Despot of Arta, Leonardo III., Tocco. Pius II. caused one of the galleys, built in Rome, to be assigned to him (see **Briefs of 16th and 29th Nov., 1459, in the above-mentioned Codex of the Laurentian Library), and afterwards endeavoured to support him with money. See the *Brief to Bologna of 13th May, 1460, in the State Archives of that city.

† Report of B. Bonatto of 9th March, 1461, Appendix N. 43, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See the account in Müntz, I., 294.

‡ Despatch of B. Bonatto to the Marchioness Barbara at Mantua, dated Rome, 1461, March 13, Gonzaga Archives. The Ambassador

In the spring of 1462 Thomas, who could not forget that he was the sovereign and heir of Byzantium, made a vain attempt to induce Siena, Milan, and Venice to espouse his cause. Pius II., by a solemn Bull, called upon all the faithful to furnish him with troops and arms, and thus give him the support which he himself was unable to afford. An indulgence was also promised to all who should aid him to recover his throne.* When all these efforts proved fruitless, Thomas seems to have found it impossible to resign himself to his dependent position.† Melancholy and disappointment consumed him, and on the 12th May, 1465, he died forgotten in the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito. His wife Catherine had preceded him in 1462. Thomas had two daughters, Helena, Queen of Servia, who died in a convent at Leucadia in 1474, and Zoe; also two sons, Andreas and Manuel. The latter of these two returned to Constantinople, became a Mussulman, and received a pension from the Porte. Andreas, whom Pius II. acknowledged as titular Despot of the Morea, remained in Rome, but injured his position by marrying a woman of bad reputation. His schemes of

thus describes the Rose: "è un arborsello de fogliete et oro cum uno zafiro in cima." See CARTARI, 57, and MÜNTZ, I., 315; also Vol. I. of the present work, p. 221. In a Despatch of 23rd March, 1461, B. Bonatto writes of the "Despot of the Morea" "La S^ta^ di N. S. continua in farli honore."

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462, N. 35–8; VOIGT, III., 651 *seq.* See Brief to Florence in MÜLLER, Doc. 189–90. Regarding the Despot's journey, see Cronica di Bologna, 743; SANUDO, 1167; and MAKUSCEV, Monum., II., 206 *seq.* *Letters from Card. Colonna (dat ex urbe 1462, Febr. 3) and from Bessarion (dat. Rome, 1462, March 15) urgently commended him to the Sienese. I found these letters in the State Archives of Siena.

† On the 2nd January, 1463, Bartol. Marasca tells Marchioness Barbara that her son, the Cardinal, had invited the Despot of the Morea to dinner, "E uno signore de grande aspecto"; he ate little, and was full of grief. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

reconquering the Peloponnesus by the assistance of Naples or of France came to nothing. In 1502 he died in misery, having bequeathed his kingdom to Ferdinand the Catholic, and Isabella of Castille. Zoe, who was very beautiful, lived in Rome under the guardianship of Cardinal Bessarion, and, in 1472, received a dowry from the Pope, and married the Grand Duke Iwan Wassilijewitsch III. of Russia, transmitting her claims to the throne to her only daughter Helena and her son-in-law, Alexander I. of Poland, who belonged to the Jagellon family.*

In the beginning of October, 1461, it was rumoured that Charlotte of Lusignan, the youthful Queen of Cyprus, a relation of the Palæologi, meant to come in person, and seek assistance from the Pope. This unhappy Princess, who had ascended the throne in 1458, was married to Prince Louis, son of the Duke of Savoy. But the young Queen and her weak consort were unable to rule their distracted kingdom. Charlotte had both courage and strength of will, but could not prevent her half-brother James, with the assistance of the Sultan of Egypt, from usurping her throne. Louis of Savoy was surrounded by his enemies in the fortress of Cerines, and Charlotte hastened to Rhodes and then to Rome in search of aid.†

The prospect of this visit was by no means agreeable to the Pope, "who had little reason to be pleased with the conduct of the House of Savoy, or the loyalty of Cyprus."

* HOPF, Griechenl., 131 *seq.*; HERTZBERG, II., 578 *seq.*; MAS-LATRIE, III., 174–5, note 1, 324, note 2; HERQUET, 150–54; FINLAY, 306; FALLMERAYER, Morea, II., 403 *seq.*; FROMMANN, Beiträge, 236 *seq.*

† MAS-LATRIE, III., 82 *seq.*; REINHARD, Gesch. von Cypern, 51; HERQUET, Charlotta, 107 *seq.*, and Königsgestalten, 52 *seq.*; WEIL, Gesch. der Chalifen, V., 268 *seq.*, 303. James's Ambassadors had in vain endeavoured to obtain recognition from the Pope; see PII II. Comment. 165–78, Asia, c. 97; MAS-LATRIE, III., 154 *seq.*; HERQUET, Königsgestalten, 74.

He sent Cardinal d'Estouteville to Ostia to dissuade the Queen from her purpose.* This proved impossible, and Pius II. received her "with sympathy and kindness."† On the 14th October she landed at S. Paolo, and on the following day made her entry into Rome; nine Cardinals met her, and she was received with all the honour due to a Queen.‡ In his Memoirs, Pius II. thus describes this lady: "She seemed to be about twenty-four years of age, and was of middle height. Her eyes had a kindly look, her complexion was pale and rather dark, her speech, as is common with the Greek, winning and fluent. She dressed in the French style, and her manners were dignified."§

Pius II. received the Queen in Consistory with the greatest kindness, and when she knelt he made her rise

* Despatches of B. Bonatto to Lodovico Gonzaga of the 11th and 12th Oct., 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. HERQUET, Charlotta, 129, and Königsgestalten, 70, is mistaken in giving the end of October as the date of the Queen's arrival from Ostia; VOIGT, also, III., 655, assigns the same time. The account in REINHARD, II., 62 *seq.*, is extremely confused.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 146.

‡ See in Appendix N. 51, the letter of B. Bonatto of the 16th Oct., 1461, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Different dates are assigned for the Queen's entry into Rome. In a *Letter of Giac. Chicio to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 1461, Oct. 16, we read: "a 15 del presente la regina di Cipri feze lo ingresso suo dentre da Roma." Nicolaus Consandulus in a *Letter to Borso of Este, dat. Rom., 1461, Oct. 14, says: "La reina di Cipri nepote del dispota de la Morea et fiola del re passato anchuo ariva in Roma e aloza in casa del card. de Spoliti la quale è nel curtile del palazo del papa. Provisione e facta per farge honore" (Modena Archives). In a second Report of the 16th Oct., 1461, B. Bonatto expressly says: "heri entro" (Gonzaga Archives). The 15th May then may be considered established as the date.

§ PII II. Comment. 179. This description agrees with that in the Ambassador's Report from the Gonzaga Archives in Appendix N. 52.

immediately.* He assigned her as her residence a palace in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vatican. The next day, with many tears, she told her sad story to the Pope, besought his help for her besieged husband, and entreated him to furnish her with the means of continuing her journey, for she had been plundered by pirates on her way. Pius II. promised to grant her requests, but could not help reminding her of the contempt of the Holy See, and disregard of the interests of Christendom, which her husband and her father-in-law had manifested during the Congress of Mantua.†

Charlotte remained in Rome till the 29th October, and visited the Holy Places.‡ Meanwhile the Pope had provided for her travelling expenses, and caused an escort of fifty men to be prepared.§ Thus attended, the Queen

* This is related by B. Bonatto in a second **Report of the 16th Oct., 1461. Giac. Chicio, in the *Letter of 16th Oct. which we have already cited, also says : "Cum humanitade incredibile N. S. accepto questa regina in la camera del papagollo pres. tutti li rev. cardinali." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Pii II. Comment. 179–80.

‡ Mas-Latrie (III., 114), the best authority on the History of Cyprus, is so uncertain as to the duration of the Queen's sojourn in Rome, that he transfers to Rome a letter of hers of the 5th Nov., 1461, dated ap. S. Chirichum. The account in Comment. Pii. II. *loc. cit.*, is also uncertain. The correct date is given by Paolo della Mastro, Cron. Rom., 27, and in a *Despatch of B. Bonatto's, dated Rome, 1461, Oct. 29 : "Questa matina e partita questa regina di Cipro." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Pii II. Comment. *loc. cit.*; Cronica di Bologna, 742. The Papal Letter of commendation to the French King appears as Epist. 387 of the Basle edition ; that to Florence in Müller, 195–6 (in place of octavo Cal. Octob., here should be Novemb.). The accounts for Charlotte in the Apostolic Treasury begin on the 30th Oct., 1461. *Intr. et exitus, 449, f. 110b. Secret Archives of the Vatican. See Gottlob, Cam. Ap.

passed through Siena, Florence, and Bologna, to the home of her husband. Everywhere she was received with sympathy, and hospitality was shewn to her and to her escort. But she found her father-in-law so little disposed to render assistance that she gave up her intended journey to France. In the end all her efforts to interest the Christian Princes in her cause proved fruitless, and in the autumn of 1462 she embarked at Venice to return to Rhodes. The letter in which she describes her forlorn and helpless condition is very touching.*

Even before the arrival of the Queen of Cyprus, heavy tidings from the East had again reached Rome. In the end of September, letters from Venice declared that the Principality of Sinope and the Empire of Trebizond were in the hands of the Infidels.†

* Letter of Charlotte's dated Mantua, 1462, Aug. 10, in GUICHENON, Preuves, 393; *ibid.*, I., 540–41. Charlotte is said to have appeared at the Congress at Mantua; this, however, is a mistake. For a further account of the Queen, see CHASTELLAIN, IV., 194; HERQUET, Charlotta, 138 *seq.*; and Königsgestalten, 75 *seq.*

† FALLMERAYER, Gesch. von Trapezunt, 280; PAGANEL, 287; and HOPF in the Ersch-Gruber, LXXXIV., p. 189, give the year 1462 as the date of the fall of Trebizond. This error is also to be found in Ist. di Chiusi, 992, and in the Hist. della casa Musachia, HOPF, Chroniques, 337; VOIGT, III., 656; FROMMANN, 236; BERCHET (Rep. di Venezia e Persia, 2 and 100) and HEYD, 365, are certainly correct in adhering to the year 1461. The Annal. Venet. of St. Magno (HOPF, Chron. 201) record the calamity as having taken place in this year, and are confirmed by other authorities. (1) In the *Instruction for the Venetian Ambassadors to France, dated 1461, Oct. 20, are the following words: "Nuper litteras accepimus a capitaneo nostro maris quibus certiores facti sumus. Turcum ipsum fuso et fugato Ossone Cassano civitatem Trapesunde occupavisse." Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 63, State Archives, Venice. (2) B. Bonatto on the 26th Oct., 1461, writes from Rome to the Marchioness of Mantua: *"Del Turco se ha che l'ha preso lo imperator de Trebusunda et mandato luy, la dona e

At the very time when the Pope thus learned that the northern shore of Asia Minor was lost to Christendom, he was "in the midst of the troubles of the Apulian war, and in extreme financial difficulties." The news from the East, together with the indifference of the Western Powers in regard to the danger threatened by Turkey, may have been the immediate occasion which suggested to him the bold idea of making an attempt to convert the Sultan.* The learned Pope's letter to Mahomet is so comprehensive that it deserves rather to be called a treatise. It breathes the conviction, which subsequent history has confirmed, that the Koran can never ultimately prevail against Christian civilisation. This remarkable document is far more impassioned in style than any of Pius II.'s other works. It laid before the Sultan the teachings of Christianity, contrasting them with those of Islam, and expressed the ardent desire of the writer that he might turn to the truth. "Were you to embrace Christianity," the Pope writes, "there is no Prince upon earth who would surpass you in glory or be your equal in power. We would acknowledge you as Emperor of the Greeks and of the East, and that

figlioli et 30m persone de quello paese ad Constantinopoli ad habitar." Gonzaga Archives.

* VOIGT, III., 658; PICHLER, I., 501, conjectures that this mighty project of the Pope's was only intended to alarm the Christian powers and induce them to join in common action. The fact that Gennadius had, by the Sultan's request, drawn up a statement of the Christian faith (KIMMEL, Mon. Eccl. Orient., I., 1–10 (Jenae, 1850); see OTTO in the Zeitsch. für Histor. Theol., 1850, III., 1864, IV.), may have led Pius II. to make the attempt at conversion; see HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 144; see also ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 230. Regarding the Apology for Christianity as against Islamism, De cribratione Alchoran, composed by Cusa and used by Pius II., see DÜX, II., 165 *seq.*, 411 *seq.* Histor. Politische Blätter, I., 996 *seq.*; SCHARPFF, Cusa's wichtigste Schriften (Tübingen, 1862), and Cusa als Reformator, p. 248 *seq.*

which you have now taken by violence, and retain by injustice, would then be your lawful possession. We would invoke your aid against those who usurp the rights of the Roman Church, and rend their own Mother. And as our predecessors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo summoned Pepin and Charles the Great to assist them, and transferred the Empire from the Greeks to their deliverers, so should we also avail ourselves of your help in the troubles of the Church, and liberally reward it. O! what a fulness of peace it would be! The Golden Age of Augustus sung by the Poets would return. If you were to join yourself to us, the whole of the East would soon turn to Christ. One will could give peace to the whole world, and that will is yours!" The Pope went on to shew the Sultan, from history, that such a conversion would not remain isolated; the Franks had been converted with Clovis, the Hungarians with Stephen, the Western Goths with Reccared, and with Constantine heathen Rome itself became Christian. This latter example was well worthy of his imitation, and the Pope, with the help of God, would bestow the dignities promised.*

* The Pope's Letter has often been printed as Ep. 7 of the Milan edit., Ep. 396 of the Basle edit., RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 44–112; s. l. et a. (Frankfort, Polemical Library, 205, N. 1), and also frequently occurs in MS. Bamberg Library, Cod. E., VII., 2 (from the Carmelite Library in that City). Berlin, Royal Library, Hamilton, 242, T. II., f. 43 *seq.*; Cracow, Jagellon Library, Cod. 2367; Munich, Court Library, Cod. Lat., 10,454, f. 120 *seq.*; Prague, University Library (see Archiv fur Œst. Gesch., XVI., 332). Olmütz Library; Rome, Vallicella Library (the foundation of Raynaldus' version, *loc. cit.*) Vatican Library, Ottob. 856, f. 19 *seq.*; 1170, f. 212 *seq.*; 3009, f. 1 *seq.*; Vat., 4034, f. 128b–192b, and 5869, f. 52–90b; Urbin., 404–406, f. 67–107, and 697, f. 68b–113. The date, unfortunately, is wanting alike in these manuscripts and in the printed copies mentioned. It is given, however, in an ancient printed copy by TARVISII, 1475 (examples of this rare

In the Holy Week of 1462 the head of St. Andrew was brought from Narni into Rome with great pomp and solemnity, by order of the Pope, and it may be with the hope of re-awakening the smouldering zeal for the Crusade.* Three Cardinals, Bessarion, Oliva, and Piccolomini, had been sent to Narni to fetch the precious relic, and they brought it to Rome on Palm Sunday (11th April). On the following day, the Pope, with all the

little work are preserved in the Library at Siena and in Cod. Vat. 5109, f. 109 *seq.*), of which copies exist (Weimar Library, see VOIGT, III., 659; University Library, Padua, Cod. 61 and 489). Here, at the conclusion, is the note: "Data Senis Kalendis Quintilibus millesimo quadragesimo sexagesimo." This, however, does not, as VOIGT, *loc. cit.*, remarks, agree with the only chronological statement in the book; in this year the Sultan conquered Sinope and Trebizond. It has already been shewn, p. 178, N. 5, that the news reached the Pope in October, 1461, and accordingly RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit.*, has rightly assigned the letter to that year, so has BEETS, 67. No certain information whether the letter was received by the Sultan is forthcoming (HEINEMANN, 25), but it is undoubtedly genuine. See VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 191, 3rd ed. The letter of Pius II. to the Sultan of Babylon, dated Siena, 1460, May 28th, printed by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 97–101, is pronounced by VOIGT, III., 659, N. 2, to be a forgery, as we have proof that the Pope was not on that day at Siena. But in Cod. 535 of the Court Library at Darmstadt this letter is dated: "Senis, V. Ydus Julii, 1460," when the Pope actually was at Siena, as appears from RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1460, N. 86.

* Besides the description in PII. II. Comment. 193 *seq.*, I have made use of the detailed *Report of J. P. Arrivabenus of the 14th April, 1462, of a *Letter of the same date from B. Bonatto (Gonzaga Archives), and of two *Letters from A. Dathus, dated Rome, 1462, April 12 and 14. (State Archives, Siena.) The letter in PALACKY, Beitr., 270, gives nothing new, nor does the modern work of PORTINI (Roma, 1847). Andreis, Cod. Vat. 5667, mentioned by VOIGT, III., 597, is identical with the account in the Memoirs of Pius II.; and the Diario in Cod. Vat. 5255, to which the same writer alludes, is the published Roman Chronicle of Paolo dello Mastro.

Cardinals, Prelates, Ambassadors, and Magnates of the City, went in procession to the meadows on the Rome-ward side of the Ponte Molle. A high tribune with an altar, had here been erected, it was ascended by two corresponding flights of stairs; the one next the bridge was destined for the Cardinals bearing the Holy Head, and by the other, which was on the side of the City, Pius II. went up to receive the treasure. Bessarion, "a venerable man, with a long beard, was the representative of the Greeks." Tears rolled down his cheeks as he delivered the reliquary to the Pope, who, also deeply moved, "prostrated himself before the sacred relic. Then, rising, in accordance with the fashion of that rhetorical age, he pronounced a Latin oration in honour of its advent."* The Pope's voice trembled with emotion as, in presence of an immense crowd, he began: "Thou art here at last, O sacred head, driven from thy resting-place by the fury of the Turk. Thou comest as a fugitive to seek an asylum with thy brother, the Prince of the Apostles. O happy exile that brings thee here! Thou seest before thee Alma Roma, hallowed by thy brother's blood. Here is the nation won by Peter and Paul for Christ. We rejoice, we exult in being able to welcome thee here. Come into our holy City, and be gracious to the Roman people. Be our advocate in Heaven, and, together with the Prince of the Apostles, protect Rome

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 195, 3rd ed. In the last number of KOCH and GEIGER'S Zeitschr. f. vergl. Lit. Gesch. und Renaissancelit. (N. F. Vol. II., N. 4–5), H. HOLSTEIN, 364–5, gives the discourse of Pius II. on the arrival of the Head of St. Andrew in Rome on the 12th April, 1462, from Cod. Upsal. Hist., 8, f. 78. The whole speech has long since been published in PII Comment. 194–5. The place where Pius II. received the holy head is still marked by a statue of St. Andrew. MÜNTZ, I., 248 *seq.*, considers this to be a work of Paolo Romano.

and the whole of Christendom. Turn the anger of the Almighty against the godless Turks and Barbarians who despise Christ our Lord." After the Pope and all present had venerated the relic, and Pius II. had invoked the protection of St. Andrew against the Turks, the Te Deum and other festal hymns were sung. Then the solemn Procession moved towards Rome, the Pope bearing the Apostle's head. The Via Flaminia was filled with multitudes of people; and, as an Indulgence had been proclaimed for the feast, countless Pilgrims had flocked together, not merely from all parts of Italy, but even from France, Germany, and Hungary. The relic was laid on the High Altar in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo, and on the 13th of April carried thence to St. Peter's.

In his Report to the Sienese, Augustinus Dathus says, that so grand a function had not been seen for centuries. The streets were strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs, and sheltered with rich tapestry from the rays of the sun. The great men of the City and the Cardinals, in particular Alain and Borgia, had vied with one another in the adornment of their Palaces, and the Churches displayed all their relics and treasures. Lights were burning everywhere, and sacred music filled the air. The streets were thronged with worshippers, and it was believed that so many had not been present on any single day of the Jubilee of 1450. The Procession went round and through the City, and the Pope had given orders that all who took part in it, even the Cardinals, should go on foot. It was touching to see Princes of the Church, bowed down with age and infirmity, clad in their gorgeous vestments, and with palms in their hands, following it, and praying fervently. All the Clergy and Magistrates, the Ambassadors, and the great men of Rome walked in this Procession carrying lighted tapers. The Pope, although suffering from gout, was there in full

pontificals. Seated on a golden chair of state, beneath a Baldacchino, he bore the Holy Head to St. Peter's, which was brilliantly illuminated. It was deposited in front of the Confession. In a lengthy oration, Bessarion invoked the aid of St. Andrew and the Princes of the Apostles for the Crusade. When he had done, the Pope stood up and spoke again: "We promise thee," were his concluding words, "Holy Andrew, most worthy Apostle of Christ, to do our utmost to regain possession of thine earthly abode, and of thy flock. We have nothing so much at heart as the defence of the Christian religion and of the true Faith, which the Turks, thy enemies and ours, are threatening to destroy. If the Christian Princes will listen to our voice, and will follow their Shepherd, the whole Church will rejoice that we have not neglected what belongs to our office, and that thou hast not sought a brother's aid in vain." The relic was then exposed for the veneration of the faithful; and the Festival was closed by the Papal Benediction and the publication of a plenary Indulgence.

In the month of May of this same year, the rich alum-bed of Tolfa was discovered by Giovanni de Castro, a Paduan, and son of the celebrated jurist Paolo.* Until

* Pii II. Comment. 185–6. Here, as also by N. DELLA TUCCIA and in the *Cronica di Forli, f. 278 (Buoncompagni Library, see *supra*, p. 112), the discovery is said to have occurred in the year 1462. This is contradicted by a Document in THEINER, Cod. Dipl., 419–20, of the 23rd Aug., 1461, which REUMONT, III., 1, 506, follows. In the *Regest. Pii II., XV., f. 72, is the clear entry 1461, x. Cal. Sept. A° III°; but mistakes on the part of the Register Clerks are not impossible. Among modern writers, VOIGT, III., 548, and HEYD, 556, also adopt 1462 as the date, and it is found in the Cronica di Bologna, 748, in *GHIRARDACCI (see *supra*, p. 243), Annal. Forliv., 226, and PALMERIUS, 246, who mentions one Carolus Pisanus, as associated with de Castro in this discovery. GASP. VERONENS., 1038–43, names instead of him, the Astrologer Domenico (di) Zaccaria from Padua; see MARINI, II., 18 and 200.

1453, de Castro had managed extensive dye-works in Constantinople, and there he had become acquainted with the Levantine alum and the places where it was found. Pius II., in his Memoirs, tells us that Giovanni de Castro, wandering about the mountains, which extend from near Civita Vecchia to the sea, and are rich in springs and in forests, found an herb in the March of Tolfa, which also grows on the Alum Mountains of Asia Minor, and then observed white stones which had a saltish taste, and on being submitted to the fire proved to be alum. Giovanni hastened to the Pope to inform him of the discovery. "To-day," he cried, "I bring you a triumph over the Turk. Every year he receives more than 300,000 ducats from Christendom for alum. I have found seven mountains full of this substance, which elsewhere in the West is only obtained in small quantities, and in a few places. There is enough here to supply seven-eighths of the world, and plenty of water near at hand. This, and the proximity of the sea, gives every advantage for the working of the beds. Thus, a great gain may be withdrawn from Turkey, and fresh resources for carrying on the Holy War may be furnished to you."

Pius II. at first looked on the whole affair as the dream of an astrologer, but experts confirmed its reality. Some Genoese, who had learned the way of working alum in the East, were summoned: "They shed tears of joy when they recognised the mineral. The process of baking proved the quality to be excellent; 80 pounds of it were worth 100 of the Turkish alum. The Pope determined to employ the gift of God to His glory in the Turkish war; he exhorted all Christians henceforth to buy alum only from him and

TUCCIA, 88 says: "Il trovatore di quest' allume fu messer Giovan da Castro per mezzo d'un giovane Cornetano e un Genovese, ch'erano stati in Turchia, etc."

not from the Unbelievers." The working of the beds was at once begun; and, according to the chronicler of Viterbo, 8000 persons were employed in it as early as the year 1463.* The technical part of the business was, from the first, left by Pius II. entirely to the discoverer who, conjointly with a Genoese and a Pisan, founded an Alum Company; this company took the Apostolic Treasury into partnership.† The Tolfa alum, which is still highly esteemed, was soon in general request, and Castro became famous; his discovery brought a yearly income of 100,000 ducats to the Papal Treasury.‡

While this new and unexpected source of revenue had been opened to assist the Pope in his war, the Infidels had brought nearly the whole Archipelago into subjection. Almost immediately after the fall of Sinope and Trebizond, Mahomet had sent a powerful fleet to the Ægean Sea. The object of this expedition was to put an end to the Genoese rule in Lesbos, to extort a higher tribute from the Maona of Chios and the Duke of Naxos, and, if possible, to expel the Knights of St. John from Rhodes and its dependent islands. These last, on whose behalf the Pope subsequently

* N. DELLA TUCCIA, 268; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 86; VOIGT, III., 547.

† GOTTLOB, Cam. Apost., and REUMONT, Briefe, I., 285. Atti dei Lincei Ser. III., 1, 96, 164. See also S. BREISLAK, Saggio di osservazioni mineralogiche sulla Tolfa, etc. (Rome, 1786), and GUGLIELMOTTI, II., 334 *seq.* Through the kindness of his Eminence, Cardinal Teodolfo Mertel, I have had access to his rare pamphlet quoted above. Cenni storici sulle miniere delle allumiere (Civita Vecchia, 1835), and also to a collection of manuscript notices which furnished me with further materials for the history of the Alum Quarries in the 16th century. A picture by Pietro da Cortona in the Gallery of the Capitol represents the beds of Tolfa.

‡ N. DELLA TUCCIA, *loc. cit.*, and AMMANATI, Comment., 394 (edit. Francof.).

appealed to Germany, were able to hold their own; but in September, 1462, the rich Island of Lesbos was conquered by the Turks, and fearfully devastated.*

In the following year the Unbelievers directed their forces against the few remaining Southern Slavs, who still retained their independence. Bosnia was in the greatest danger, and the designs of Mahomet were greatly forwarded by the unfortunate state of its internal affairs. The country was distracted by feuds, there was discord among the members of the ruling house, and fierce sectarian dissensions. Stephan Thomaschewitsch, who came to the throne in 1461, had much to suffer from this last cause.

Stephan made peace with his step-mother Queen Catherine, and with Matthias Corvinus, and in every way favoured the Catholic Church. "The Slavs, following the example of the Roumanians, preferred servitude under the Turks to the freedom which the Latin world brought them." The numerous Patarenes in Bosnia entered into secret alliances with the Sultan, and slowly prepared the storm which at last was to shroud their country in "the lasting night of Ottoman bondage."†

The Bosnian King's refusal to pay tribute in 1462 finally determined Mahomet II. to carry out his purpose of reducing the country to the condition of a Turkish Pashalik. Being at the time occupied in Wallachia, he postponed his vengeance until the following spring.

* HOPF, Griechenland, 143; VIGNA, II., 1, 138 *seq.*; HOPF, De Leonardi Chiensis de Lesbo a Turcis capta epistola papae Pio II. missa, 7 *seq.* (Regiomonti, 1866), and Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, XXXVII., 359–66; HERTZBERG, II., 582. Regarding the assistance of Rhodes, see RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 27, 1463, N. 20, and the **Brief of March 1st, 1463, to the Bishop of Strasburg. District Archives, Strasburg, G. 141.

† KLAIČ, 414 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*, 440; HÖFLER, Slavische Geschichte, 885.

Stephan Thomaschewitsch employed this interval in preparing, as best he could, to meet the threatening danger. The Pope helped him according to his ability. Venice, of all powers the one best able to grant assistance, was indifferent, and absolutely rejected the proposals of the Bosnian Ambassadors for an alliance against the common enemy.*

The Sultan's plan was to take the King by surprise before help could reach him from any quarter. He kept the project secret, and granted a truce of fifteen years to Stephan, who was terribly alarmed by the immense warlike preparations of Turkey. Mahomet then advanced with 150,000 men, sent some of his troops against the Save to keep Matthias Corvinus employed, and with the rest proceeded to the Bosnian frontier. In May, 1463, the Turkish host encamped before the fortress of Bobovatz. Mahomet had made up his mind to a protracted siege ; but after a few days, Radak the Commandant, a Patarene at heart, gave up the bulwark of the country. When this traitor claimed the reward promised by the Sultan, the tyrant caused him to be beheaded.

The general consternation produced by the fall of Bobovatz, to which further treachery was added, facilitated the work of conquest. The unfortunate King, who had fled to the strong Castle of Kljutsch on the Save, was beleaguered by the Turks. Want of victuals and ammunition constrained him to capitulate ; life and liberty were promised him on condition that he would himself summon all places, not yet conquered, to surrender to the Turks. "And now all the horrors by which the cruel policy of the Sultan loved to break conquered nations fell upon the land." † Those who could sought safety in

* KLAIČ, 427 ; MAKUSCEV, Slaven, 104 *seq.*

† HERTZBERG, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 621 ; KLAIČ, 431 *seq.* ;

flight. A brave Franciscan drew Mahomet's attention to the threatened depopulation of the territory he had just acquired, and the Sultan granted to his Order a Deed by which the free exercise of their religion was permitted to the Christians. From this time forth the Franciscans were the only shield and refuge of all Bosnian Christians."*

Not content with the subjugation of Bosnia, Mahomet next cast his eyes on Herzegowina, but soon found that the conquest of that mountainous country could not be so easily accomplished. On his way back to Adrianople, he caused the letters he had granted, ensuring freedom to the King of Bosnia, to be declared invalid, and had him beheaded, together with his uncle and nephew.† The Queen Maria and the Queen-mother Catherine escaped death by flight; the latter lived first at Ragusa, and, from the year 1466, in Rome. Supported by the Pope, she, with other noble Bosnian lords and ladies, inhabited a house near St. Mark's, and afterwards one in the Leonine City. Here she died on the 25th October, 1478, at the age of fifty-three, having bequeathed her kingdom to the Holy See, unless her children, who had become Mahometans,

BALAN, Slavi, 196 *seq.*; MAKUSCEV, Slaven, *loc. cit.*, and Mon. Slav., II., 26 *seq.*

* KLAIČ, 439; BALAN, Slavi, 199 *seq.* Regarding the self-sacrificing labours of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegowina, see BATINIĆ, Djelovanje Franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini (Agram, 1881–83, 2 Vols.). Mahomet's Firman of 1463 was pretty generally respected, yet it did not suffice to hinder grievous oppression of the Latins at a later period, as we learn from the Firmani inediti dei Sultani di Constantinopoli ai conventi Francescani e alle autorità civili di Bosnia e Erzegovina, published by D. Fabianich, Firenze, 1884.

† HAMMER, II., 76–8; SCHIMEK, Gesch. von. Bosnien, 152 (Wien, 1787). Lately (1888) the Grave of Stephan Thomaschewitsch is said to have been discovered at Jaice. See DR. CIRO TRUHELKA, Gesch. und Denkwürdigkeiten von Jaice, Serajewo, 1888.

should return to the Catholic Church. "The grave of the landless Queen is to be seen in S^ta^ Maria Araceli. Her full-length figure is sculptured on the stone, her crowned head resting on a pillow, at whose sides are two coats of arms; her hands are laid upon a book, with an inscription which describes her lineage, dignity, and age."*

Even before the tidings of the subjugation of Bosnia had reached Italy, the Pope, during many sleepless nights, as he himself declared, had thought of a new expedient for infusing fresh vigour into the struggle with the Turks: sickly as he was, and feeble from age, he would undertake in person the Leadership of the Holy War.

Pius II. imparted the project, in the first place, to six Cardinals in whom he placed special confidence, supporting his view by a retrospect of his former fruitless efforts to unite Christians against the common foe. "When the idea of a Convention occurred to us," he said, "what occurred at Mantua shewed us that the plan was a vain one. When we send Ambassadors to ask the aid of the Princes they are mocked. If we impose a tithe on the Clergy, appeal is made to a future Council. If we publish Indulgences, and invite contributions, by means of spiritual favours, we are charged with greed. People think all this is done merely for the sake of extorting money; no one trusts us. We have no more credit than a bankrupt merchant. Whatever we do is interpreted in the worst manner; people measure our sentiments by their own. We see but one resource, perhaps the last. In the year that Constantinople fell, Duke Philip of Burgundy made

* REUMONT, III., 1, 148; KLAIČ, 438; MIKLOŠIĆ, 519; CASIMIRO, Mem. d'Araceli, 147; CIACONIUS, III., 41, gives a very inadequate representation of the monument. Regarding the Queen's residence, see ADINOLFI, Portica, 102–4; her will is given by THEINER, Mon. Slav., I., 509–11.

a solemn vow to take the field against the Turks if some great Prince would place himself at the head of the expedition. Up to this time no one has offered. Well, then, in spite of our age and infirmity, we will take upon ourselves the warfare for the Catholic Faith. We will go into the battle, and call upon the Duke of Burgundy to follow. If the Vicar of Christ, who is greater than the King and the Emperor, goes to the war, the Duke, when his oath is appealed to, cannot with honour stay at home. If Philip embarks at Venice we will wait for him at Ancona, with as many Galleys as we can make ready, and with our whole force. The Duke will bring about 10,000 men. The French King will be ashamed not to send at least as many, for he promised 70,000. Volunteers will come from England, Germany, and Spain; those who are threatened by the Turks will rise everywhere, in Europe as well as in Asia. Who will refuse his aid when the Bishop of Rome offers his own person? Above all, however, the Venetians must be induced really to take part, for they best know how the Turks should be attacked, and all the seas are open to them. If they agree, and if Burgundy and France also consent, we mean to proceed boldly to impose on all Christians a five years' truce under pain of Excommunication, to lay a contribution on all the clergy under the same penalty, and to invite the support of the laity by granting Indulgences and spiritual favours. We hope that the publication of this determination will act as a thunder-clap to startle the nations from their sleep, and inflame the minds of the faithful to stand up in earnest for their Religion."*

* Pii II. Comment. 189-91; Voigt, III., 676-7.

CHAPTER VII.

Plans of Reform.—Amendment of the Religious Orders.—Measures for the Protection of the Negroes and Jews.—The Bull of Retractation. — Defence of the Liberty of the Church. — Punishment of Heretical Teachers.—The Dispute on the Precious Blood.—Church Festivals. — Canonisation of Catherine of Siena.—Creation of Cardinals.—Promotion of Art.—Siena and Pienza.

By the Capitulation Act at the Election of 1458, the new Pope was expressly bound to undertake the reform of the Court of Rome. In the case of a man like Pius II., this motive of action was scarcely needed, for "he had learnt life in all its phases, and amassed a wealth of experience, combined with multifarious knowledge, which was unequalled amongst his contemporaries."* No one knew better than he that great and terrible evils existed in all the other countries of Christendom, as well as in Rome and Italy. At the beginning of his Pontificate, Pius II. certainly was not wanting in zeal for the work before him. Evidence of this disposition is found in a fact which has hitherto remained unknown to students of history. The Pope appointed a Commission, composed of several Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and Doctors, to deliberate concerning the Reform of the Roman Court. "Two things are particularly near my heart," said Pius to the members of this Committee,—"the war with the Turks, and the Reform of the Roman Court. The amendment of the

* Reumont, III., 1, 135.

whole state of ecclesiastical affairs, which I have determined to undertake, depends on this Court as its model. I purpose to begin by improving the morals of the ecclesiastics here, and banishing all simony and other abuses from hence."*

Of the projects brought forward on this occasion, two are before us, that of the learned Venetian, Domenico de' Domenichi, and that of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, which latter was embodied in a Papal Bull. The Cardinal, who was an intimate friend of the Pope, took a wider view of the question than Domenichi, and drew up a scheme for the general reform of the Church.† According to it, three

* "Nam dixit nobis duo sibi maxime in corde versari ad quae intendat scilicet ad curiae reformationem a qua sicut ab exemplo et forma dependet ecclesiae reformatio quam intendit et sic corrigere excessus et reformare mores maxime clericorum ne sanguis eorum de manu sua requiratur et sic a curia sua expellere vendentes et ementes et menses nummulariorum evertere et cathedras vendentium columbas id est auferre symoniacas concessiones, negotiationes et alias immunditias et indecentias. Item maxime intendit ad defensionem eiusdem ecclesiae contra perfidos Turchos christiani nominis inimicos et hoc est aliud quod versatur in corde ipsius." Dominicus Dominici, De reformatione, etc., f. 5b ; see f. 6 and 14b in the MS. of the Vatican Library, cited *infra*, p. 273, note *.

† Cusa's project is preserved only in Cod. 422 of the State Library at Munich. SCHARPFF, 284 *seq.*, has the credit of being the first to draw attention to this remarkable paper, which DÜX afterwards published, II., 451–66. VOIGT, III., 341, judges the project unfairly ; he attacks the Introduction, not considering that in the Middle Ages it was customary to proceed from the general question, and connect everything with the chief fundamental principles. See also SCHARPFF, Cusa als Reformator, 263 (Tübingen, 1871), and regarding Cusa's zeal for reform in general, ENNEN, III., 765, and Hist.-Pol., Bl. LXXIX., 23 (on Voigt's supposition). As to Voigt's further assertion that "Pius II. regarded Cusa's reforms with an eye to their political effect alone," proofs are wanting, for the one case adduced by him only shews that there was a difference of opinion between Pius II. and

Visitors were to be chosen; and, beginning with Rome and the Court, were gradually to extend their labours throughout the whole Church. Fourteen Rules were laid down for the guidance of these Visitors, who are to be "grave and proved men, true copies of Christ our model, preferring Truth before all else, combining knowledge and prudence with zeal for God, not striving for honour and riches, but detached from all things, and spotless in thought and deed, a burden to none, contenting themselves for food and raiment with what is appointed by the Canons, to which they are bound by oath."

The substance of the Rule for the Visitors may be summed up as follows: From among those to be visited, three sworn men are to be chosen, with whose co-operation the reform is to be carried out. Its ultimate aim is a return to primitive conformity with the precepts of the Church, so that every one, ecclesiastics and laity, may live in a manner befitting his vocation and condition. Detailed directions are given in regard to beneficed persons, specially aimed at the abolition of pluralities; the incorporation of Church preferment in Chapters and Convents is strictly forbidden; a very important clause threatens all secular and regular Clergy, who, under pretext of Papal privilege, oppose the reform, with the loss of their prerogatives. Those who despise Papal censures are to be deprived of their benefices,

Cusa on the matter of the Bleeding Host, as there are in the present day differences of opinion on this question; see our Vol. II., p. 123, and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 46 *seq.* The other instance, which, besides, is not an isolated one (see *infra*, p. 277), merely evinces the Pope's goodwill in regard to Monastic Reform. We leave the reader to judge whether the fourteen Articles of Reform "in principle concern only forms and formalities." The German Cardinals' project is not dated. I think, however, that I cannot be mistaken in connecting it with the appointment of the Commission of Reform spoken of by Domenichi in his *Reform plan, f. 6.

and the faithful to be forbidden to attend their ministrations. The Visitors are recommended to pay special attention to Hospitals, to the fabric of Churches, to fraudulent dealers in Indulgences, to the enclosure of nuns, to the genuineness of Relics, and whether the veneration in which they are held is excessive, also the reality of alleged miracles, particularly Bleeding Hosts. Finally, the Visitors are to be zealous in eradicating open usury, adultery and contempt of the commands of the Church ; to suppress all factions, to cleanse all places from the defilement of soothsayers, sorcery, and all such sins, by which the Divine Majesty and the Christian commonweal are offended, and to do their best to bring back the purity of the early Church.

The second part of Cusa's project concerns the amendment of the Court of Rome. Beginning from the Pope, a list of reforms is called for affecting the Cardinals, the Court officials, and the Roman clergy. He who remarks anything calculated to give scandal, even in the Supreme Head of the Church, is to speak out freely. The Court is not to be an asylum for idle and roaming Prelates, Beneficiaries, and Religious, or to furnish them with opportunities for suing for higher dignities and amassing benefices. All who, for any just reason, are detained there, must conform to the rules of the Church, in conduct, morals, clothing, tonsure, and observance of the Canonical hours. Members of the Court, even laymen, who lead immoral lives, are to be sent away. The office of the Penitentiary is to be most closely examined. Here, as well as in the other offices, Cusa urges the removal of novelties which have been introduced for the sake of gain ; if nothing better can be done at present, at least the Court might be brought back to the state it was in at the accession of Martin V.

The plan of Domenico de' Domenichi is equally bold.

His long residence in Rome had given this distinguished scholar and diplomatist a thorough acquaintance with existing evils.* The scheme of reform for the Roman Court, which he submitted to the Pope, is divided into twenty-two sections.† The first two are directed to prove the necessity of Reform, and depict in dark colours the prevailing corruptions. Hence Domenichi concludes that the work of renovation must begin with the Pope and the Cardinals, then be extended to the Bishops, and ultimately to the other members of the Church, and that none should venture to put hindrances in the way. The fifth section

* Domenichi was born in 1416, had been for twenty-one years Professor of Philosophy in the University of Padua, distinguished himself greatly in a disputation held before Eugenius IV., who appointed him head of the Academy of S. Biagio. Nicholas V. made him Protonotary in 1448, gave him the Bishopric of Torcello, where he laboured zealously. Calixtus III. summoned him to Rome, and made him Apostolic Referendary; his discourse in the Conclave is mentioned, *supra*, p. 8 *seq.* Pius II. placed special confidence in this gifted man; he took him with him to Mantua, entrusted him with the revision of the suit against Duke Sigismund, and then sent him to establish peace in the German Empire. See GRADONICUS, 352 *seq.*; MARINI, I., 158; AGOSTINI, I., 386 *seq.*; CICOGNA, II., 116 *seq.*; and in particular, the dissertation of Jo. de Augustinis prefixed to Domenichi's Liber de dignit. Episcop., 16 *seq.* I hope elsewhere to be able to speak of writings of Domenichi, for the most part unpublished, in the Vatican, the University Library at Bologna, and the Mantua Library. I will only here remark that Domenichi's work, De dignit. Episc., dedicated to Pius II., and adorned with exquisite miniatures, is in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Cod. A. 76 Inf.

† Domenichi's Tractatus de reformatione curiae Romanae . . . ad sanc. dom. Pium papam secundum, was printed in Brescia in 1495 (see HAIN, 6321). This edition is, however, extremely rare, and even the Brescia Library contains no copy of it; it is in many places very incorrectly printed. I make use of two Manuscript copies of the treatise, which I found in the Vatican Library in Cod. Ottob., 2473, and Vatic., 5689.

brings him to his special subject. He begins with Public Worship, the ceremonies to be observed by the Pope, and of the silence which should be maintained by the Cardinals and Prelates in Church. A Chapter is devoted to the duty of Almsgiving, especially as incumbent on the Pope, who should be the father of the poor. Indulgences, according to Domenichi, should be granted but rarely. Nepotism is strongly condemned; in making appointments, good and learned men are always to be preferred; but Domenichi does not disapprove of the advancement of virtuous members of the Pope's family! Those who immediately surround the Supreme Head of the Church must be blameless; above all, they must be absolutely incorruptible.

In the eleventh section Domenichi touches a fundamental ecclesiastical abuse; that of the plurality of benefices. This demands strong measures, especially in the case of reversions. Sections 12–17 refer to the life of the Cardinals and higher Prelates. Those who compose the Supreme Senate of Christendom are to set a good example, to hear Mass in public, to eschew all luxury and pomp; the members of their households are to wear the tonsure, and to be clad as clerics. Grievous abuses have crept in, and give great scandal to those who come to the Court. Sumptuous banquets must not be given by the Cardinals and Prelates, not even to do honour to Ambassadors; Domenichi would have jewels and gold and silver plate almost completely banished from the houses of Prelates. In the case of Bishops and beneficed Clergy, the duty of residence is strongly urged. Young men who frequent the Court instead of devoting themselves to study, and seek to rise to ecclesiastical dignities by the favour of Cardinals, are severely blamed. A special Commission to insist on the duty of residence is suggested. The eighteenth chapter condemns the custom which prevailed at the Papal Court,

of allowing Protonotaries and Ambassadors to take precedence of Bishops. Penitentiaries should be forbidden to receive anything from those who made confession to them. Above all, a regular salary ought to be assigned to the Court officials, especially to the Abbreviators and members of the Rota, and all other gains be forbidden. Finally, Domenichi expresses the wish that the Decrees of Constance and Basle, for the amendment of the Court, may be carried out as far as they suit present circumstances. In the last section he recommends the institution of a Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates to effect the reform of the Court officials, especially those of the Chancery, who should make it their business to eradicate everything approaching to Simony.

Unfortunately these extensive reforms were only partially undertaken. The fact that Pius II. summoned such a man as St. Antoninus * to take part in his Commission, and also caused a Bull to be drafted directed against the prevailing abuses,† will prove that, for a time, he seriously intended to carry out this important work. But, in the end, he did not venture to engage in a gigantic conflict with all the evils which had invaded the Church, and contented himself with opposing isolated abuses. The alarming advances of the Turks, and the struggle for the existence of Christendom, soon engrossed his attention, and, if his whole energies were not absolutely absorbed by the Turkish question, an unusual combination of troubles in Italy, France, Germany, and Bohemia, claimed a part of his care. The question of Reform was driven more and more into the background,

* Vita S. Antonini in Acta SS. Maii, I., 324. As St. Antoninus died on the 2nd May, 1459, the plans of Reform of which we have spoken evidently belong to the beginning of Pius II.'s Pontificate.

† I found this interesting Document in a Manuscript in the Barberini Library, Rome. For details see Appendix N. 42.

and in the interests of the Church, this cannot be sufficiently regretted. It remains certain, however, that Pius II. was not altogether inactive in this matter. As early as June, 1459, the Bishops were restored to their proper precedence over the Protonotaries. The Apostolic Referendaries were required, on their entrance on office, to swear that they would not receive any presents.* It is evident that the abuses in the Penitentiaries must also have been corrected, for the simple, moderate, and upright Calandrini was appointed Grand Penitentiary. Pius II. carried out an expressed desire of Domenichi's when, in the year 1460, he set on foot a thorough visitation and Reform of the Penitentiaries of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and S^ta^ Maria Maggiore.† Ordinations not in accordance with the canonical prescriptions were strictly forbidden by a Bull, issued in 1461.‡ Strong measures for the suppression of concubinage among Seculars and Regulars in the Diocese of Valencia were adopted in 1463.§ Peter Bosham, who went as Nuncio to Scandinavia in 1463, received a special charge to see to the reform of the clergy in those parts.‖ Pius II. also took pains to enforce the duty of residence on incumbents in the Venetian territory.¶

* Bull. V., 152–3 ; Pii II. Comment. 37.

† Bull. Vatic., II., 162–3.

‡ Bull. V., 165–6.

§ *Pius II. dil. fil. vicariis ven. frat. nostri episcop. Valentin. in spirit. generalib. et officiali Valent. contra concubinarios civit. et dioec. Valent. D. Romae, 1463, xiii. Cal. Oct. A° 6.° Regest. 493, f. 9–11. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Regarding the deposition of the unworthy Archbishop of Benevento, see Tartinius, I., 994, and Borgia, III., 396.

‖ *Regest. 519, f. 27 (Petro Bosham. Dat. 1463, V. Id. Nov. A° 6°).

¶ This is evident from a *Brief, unfortunately without date, addressed to the Doge in Lib. brev. 9, f. 156b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

Cardinals who, like Rodrigo Borgia, forgot the dignity of their position and gave themselves up to a licentious life, and worldly members of the Sacred College and of the Roman Court, were often sharply rebuked by the Pope.* His zeal for the restoration of Monastic Discipline is specially worthy of praise. The terrible descriptions given by well-informed contemporaries, such as Johannes Ruysbroeck, Johannes Busch, and Jakob von Jüterbogk, bear witness to the enormity of the abuses.† Soon after his accession the Pope published a Decree to hinder members of Mendicant Orders from withdrawing themselves from the jurisdiction of their superiors,‡ under pretext of studying. Later on we find him proceeding against relaxed Convents in different countries, especially in Italy, Germany, and Spain.§ He bestowed many favours on the admirable and exemplary Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina, at Padua ; confirmed all its former privileges, and aggregated to it convents which were in need of reform.‖ The amendment of the Convents of the Order of Vallombrosa

* Pii II. Comment. 339 ; Cugnoni, 199. Regarding the letter of reproof to R. Borgia, see our account, Vol. II., p. 452 *seq.*

† See especially Chapters 23 and 24 of the *Tractatus de malo (seculi) of Jakob von Jüterbogk (see Vol. II., p. 45 *seq.*) in Cod. 34 of the Cathedral Library, Trèves, and also in Cod. 561, Helmst. of the Library at Wolfenbüttel. I found in the University Library, Würzburg, a work by the same author : *De causis deviationis religiosorum et de remediis eorundem.

‡ Bull. V., 143–4. See Bull. Carmelit., 252–3, and Bull. Praedic., III., 384 ; in both the last-named the Bull is dated xv. Cal. Nov.

§ *Archiepiscopo Toletano. Dat. in abbatia S. Salvatoris Clusin. dioc. 1462, prid. Cal. Aug. A° 4°. Regest. 507, f. 233. See Wadding, XIII., 254.

‖ Bull. Casin., I., 90 ; II., 353, 355. Regarding the salutary labours of this Congregation, see Katholik, 1859, II., 1360 *seq.*, 1489 *seq.* ; 1860, I., 200 *seq.*, 425 *seq.*

was undertaken in 1463.* In Florence and Siena, Pius II. sought to restore Monastic Discipline. Measures were taken for the Reform of the Humiliati in Venice, of the Dominicans at Forli and Reggio, and of the Carmelites at Brescia.† Martial Auribelle, the unworthy General of the Dominicans, was removed from his position by the command of the Pope.‡ Pius II. was encouraged to take a peculiar interest in the renovation of the Carmelites, on account of the character of their General, John Soreth, a man who combined gentleness with austerity, and who had all the knowledge of the necessities of the case demanded by such a work.§

The Pope did, comparatively speaking, a great deal for the improvement of the German Convents. Amongst other entries of the kind in his Registers are ordinances for the reform of the Scotch Abbey at Ratisbon, and of the Poor Clares at Basle, Eger, and Pfullingen.‖ At the very out-

* See *Regest., 518, f. 162. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Secret Archives of the Vatican, Regest. 493, f. 132: *Excommunicatio contra intrantes monasteria monialium Florent. Ord. S. Benedicti. D. Romae, 1463, Oct. Id. Octob. A° 6°. *Briefs regarding the Reform of the Convent of Sta Maria Novella of 2nd June and 1st September 1460, are in the State Archives at Florence. In reference to Siena, see *Regest. 478, f. 199, and the *Letter of Card. Calandrini to the authorities of that city, dated Rome, 1464, July 17 (State Archives, Siena), which shews the anxiety of Pius II. to set things right there. Humiliati in Venice: see State Archives, Venice, Misto XVI., f. 41b; Forli and Reggio, see Bull. Praedic., III., 401, 404; Brescia, GRADONICUS, 247.

‡ CUGNONI, 224.

§ Bull. Carmelit., 262–3. See Freib. Kirchenlexikon, III., 1920 *seq.*, 2nd ed.; PEZZANA, 202. The historian of the Carthusians, TROMBY (VIII., 255 *seq.*), also praises the solicitude of Pius II. in regard to the Religious Orders. Regarding Soreth, see the excellent work of KOCH, Die Carmelitenklöster der niederdeutschen Provinz, 12, 122 (Freiburg 1889).

‖ Secret Archives of the Vatican, Regest. 472, f. 189: "*Monas-

set of his reign he warmly acknowledged and commended the devoted labours of the Benedictine Congregation at Bursfeld, and extended to it the privileges which Eugenius IV. had granted to that of St. Justina in Padua.* Subsequently he supported this Union of German Benedictines in various ways; two Bulls in their favour bear date 1461.†

It has been remarked that the external constitution of the Bursfeld Congregation was characterised by a centralisation which did not belong to the original Benedictine rule. This change was due to the circumstances of the period. "Isolation had latterly brought much evil to Convents."‡ In consideration of this fact Pius II., in 1461, contemplated the union of the three Congregations of Bursfeld, Castel, and Mölk.§ Although this great scheme was not carried into execution, this was not due to any diminution in the reforming zeal of the

terium S. Jacobi Scotor. Ratisp. mandatur reformari et visitari per Rupertum administrat. eccles. Ratisponen. D. Romae, 1458, IV., Non. Dec. A° I°"; *ibid*, f. 235: "Reformatio monast. monialium in Phullingen ord. S. Clare Const. dioec. Dat. Mantuae, 1459, Sept. Cal. Aug. A° I°." Regest. 507, f. 178. The reform of the convent, S. Clare, was committed to the Bishop of Basle. D. Romae, 1461, xv. Cal. April. A° 4°. Regarding Eger, see SCHLESINGER, Deutsche Chroniken, III., 276, and GLASSBERGER, 410.

* EVELT, Anfänge der Bursfelder Benediktiner-Congregation, in the Zeitschr. für Gesch. Westfalens, 3, Series V., 139; LEUCKFELD, 155, Nic. de Siegen; Chronicon, published by WEGELE, 431, 446–7 (Jena, 1855); THOMAS, Gesch. der Pfarrei St. Mauritius, III.

† One in LEUCKFELD, 160–64, the other *Regest. 485, f. 139: "Dil. fil. Thome in Borsfeldia Magunt. dioec. et S. Jacobi prope Magunt. monasterior. abbatibus conceditur facultas reformandi monasteria et alii pia loca dioec. Magunt. Dat. Romae, 1461, X. Cal. April. A° 4°." Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ KATHOLIK, 1860, I., 428.

§ KEIBLINGER, Melk, I., 638, note 1.; HELYOT, VI., 266 *seq.*

Pope. In April 1464, the Papal Nuncio, Jerome, Archbishop of Crete, in support of the reform of the Benedictine Convents, declared that nothing was more pleasing to the Pope than this salutary work. The nobles, however, were its chief opponents. In Bamberg there seemed danger that the occupation of the Abbey of St. Michael's Mount by reformed monks not belonging to the Franconian nobility would provoke a civil war. When we consider the wealth of the Benedictine Order, "we can understand the interest of the nobility in preventing the Reform of these Abbeys."* The reform of the Bavarian Premonstratensians, and of the Dominicans in the Netherlands, was also promoted by Pius II.†

Among the Franciscans he favoured the strictest, that is to say, the Observantines.‡ "A series of Bulls shews that he confirmed donations made to them, permitted them in some places to build new houses, and conferred privileges on them; favours calculated to give them a greater hold on the people." In his many journeys the Pope loved to rest at their houses. In obedience to a Papal command the Conventuals withdrew from the Convents at Tivoli and Sarzana to make way for the Observantines. In Spain and Germany, also, he befriended them, and they, on their side, were indefatigable in preaching the Crusade. In 1464 he gave to the Vicar-General of the Observantines out of Italy authority to proceed independently against any members

* HÖFLER in the Quellen zur Fränk. Gesch., IV., 21–2.

† VOIGT, III., 341, Bull. Ord. Praedic., III., 399.

‡ Regarding the Pope's measures of Reform, especially in the Franciscan Order, see Vols. II. and III. of the Indic. Bull. Ord. Seraph. of Petrus de Alva et Astorga, which has already been cited. P. Eubel had the goodness to inform me that, having compared the Bulls here given with the copies of Bulls on this subject, preserved in the Minorite Archives of SS. Apostoli, he found the number of the latter to be rather limited.

of the Order who might fall away from the Faith, a privilege which was, however, withdrawn by later Popes.* The favours shewn to the Observantines advanced the cause of real Reform, for their preachers in Italy were most successful in combating the prevalent immorality; the party passions that burst through all bonds; and the usury by which the people were impoverished.† They were the chief originators and promoters in Italy of one of the most useful Institutions of that time, the public pawn-offices. These *Montes pietatis*, as they were called, relieved the immediate necessities of the poor, and saved them from becoming the prey of the usurer.‡

No less fruitful were the labours of the Franciscan Observantines among the heathens and Infidels. "In their missionary work they displayed a courage and constancy such as were no longer to be found among the Secular Clergy or the other Religious Orders. In Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, in Moldavia and Wallachia, in all provinces which had already fallen or were inevitably falling under the power of the Crescent, the Observantines, step by step, and often sword in hand, defended the Christian faith. They had houses in Jerusalem near the Holy Sepulchre, and in other parts of the Holy Land, in Rhodes, and in Crete. They were established in Minorca and Iviza, and thence they accompanied the expeditions to the Canary Isles and

* VOIGT, III., 587 *seq.*, where are to be found the proofs from Wadding. See also EUBEL, II., 277 *seq.*; GAUDENTIUS, Beiträge zur Kirchengesch., I., 135 (Bozen, 1880), and GLASSBERGER, 378 *seq.*, 407 *seq.* Pius II. did not accede to the Observantines' desire for the Canonisation of Capistrano.

† Kirchenlexikon, IV., 1662, 2nd ed.; BURCKHARDT, Cultur II., 238 *seq.*, 3rd ed.

‡ See MORONI, XLVI., 253 *seq.*; FUNK, Zins und Wucher, 80 *seq.* (Tübingen, 1868); WEISS, Vor der Reformation, 111 *seq.*; CRISTOFANI, 327–8; FUMI, 724; LUZI, Il primo Monte di Pietà (Orvieto, 1868).

Guinea," where there was a great dearth of Secular Clergy.* There, on the West African Coast, Negro slavery in the time of Eugenius IV. had just begun to appear. In the days of Pius II. it had attained such proportions that even the converts of the Missionaries were not safe from Christian slave-dealers. When the Pope heard of these doings, he at once, in a Brief of the 7th October 1462, to the Bishop of Ruvo, condemned the nefarious traffic, and threatened all Christians who should dare to drag the new converts into slavery, with severe ecclesiastical penalties.† Pius II. also actively promoted the ransom of Christians who were in captivity among the Turks.‡

The Jews, who in those days were often the victims of much unjust oppression, also excited the compassion of the Pope. During the Congress at Mantua, a Jewish Deputation brought their grievances before him. He desired the Bishop of Spoleto to examine carefully into their complaints, and then issued a solemn Decree, forbidding the baptism of Jewish children under twelve, against the will of their relations, and also the practice of compelling the Jews to do servile work on Saturday.§ He manifested the same freedom of spirit in regard to astrology, the interpretation of dreams, and other forms of magic,‖ which, in those days, were so much in vogue.

* VOIGT, III., 590.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462; N. 42; Nuove effemerid. Sicil. Sett.-Ott., 1880; MARGRAF, Kirche und Sklaverei, 191 (Tübingen, 1865), who, however, is wrong in his statement that the negro slave trade began under Nicholas V.; see, on the other hand, RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1436, N. 26.

‡ *Regest. 479, f. 316. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ PEZZANA, III., 28–9, App., 15 *seq.* I was not able to consult BARDINET'S article on this subject in the Rev. des Études Juives, 1883.

‖ BURCKHARDT, Cultur II., 281, 3rd ed. The common idea that Pius II. expressed latitudinarian opinions in regard to the Mendicant Orders, and to the marriage of Priests, is clearly contradicted by VOIGT,

The foregoing pages have brought Pius II. before us as the zealous opponent of the adherents of National Churches and the Supremacy of Councils. As there were in his earlier writings, especially those belonging to the period of his sojourn in Basle, many things to which this party could appeal in support of their opinions, he felt called upon to make a solemn retractation of his former errors. This was done in the celebrated Bull of Retractation, addressed to the University of Cologne on the 26th April 1463.* Pius II. begins by recalling to mind the Dialogues which, while as yet only in minor orders, he had addressed to the University of Basle, in defence of the Supremacy over the Pope, claimed by the Council held in that City. "Perhaps," he proceeded, "this may have led some of you into error. If God should now require this blood at our hands We can only answer by an acknowledgment of our sin. But it is not enough to pray for mercy from God, We must also seek to repair our fault. Misled, like St. Paul, We have said, written, and done much that is worthy of condemnation, and, in ignorance, have persecuted the Church of God and the Roman See. Therefore We now pray: Lord, forgive us the sins of our youth! Meanwhile our writings are no longer in our own power but in the hands of many, and may, if misused by the evil-minded, do great harm.

III., 577, who was certainly no friend of the Pope's. Voigt is mistaken in supposing the celibacy of the priesthood to be an article of faith in the Church, for it is only a matter of discipline.

* This Bull has been frequently printed, but generally the versions are incorrect (*e.g.*, in Bull. V., 173 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 114 *seq.*); the best is in FEA, Pius II., 148–64 (Romae, 1823). For a critical examination of this document, especially the passage regarding the Council of Constance, see PHILLIPS, IV., 460 *seq.*; VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, III., 433; Laacher Stimmen, III., 119 *seq.*; DÜX, I., 320–21; BEETS, 78, 85 *seq.*

"We are therefore obliged to imitate St. Augustine, and retract our errors. We exhort you, then, to give no credit to those earlier writings which oppose the Supremacy of the Roman See, or contain anything not admitted by the Roman Church. Recommend and counsel all, especially to honour the throne on which our Lord has placed His Vicar, and do not believe that the Providence of God, which rules all things and neglects none of His creatures, has abandoned the Church Militant alone to a state of anarchy. The order given by God to His Church requires that the lower should be led by the higher, and that all, in the last resort, be subject to the one Supreme Prince and Ruler who is placed over all. To St. Peter alone did the Saviour give the plenitude of power: he and his lawful successors are the only possessors of the Primacy. If you find in the Dialogues, or in our letters, or in our other works—for in our youth we wrote a great deal—anything in opposition to this teaching, reject and despise it. Follow that which we now say; believe the old man rather than the youth; do not esteem the layman more highly than the Pope; cast away Æneas, hold fast to Pius."*

To confute those who attributed his change of mind to his promotion to the Papal dignity, Pius takes a retrospect of the Basle period, and shews that he had come to acknowledge the truth long before his elevation. This is proved by the letter of recantation which Æneas Sylvius addressed to the Rector of the Academy of Cologne, in August 1447.†

At the conclusion of the Bull the Pope again insists on the monarchical constitution of the Church. What St. Bernard taught regarding Eugenius III. is to be applied

* A similar passage occurs in the undated Retractation of his erotic writings (Opera, 870), which Pius vainly attempted to suppress.

† Published by FEA, 1–17.

to Eugenius IV., and to all successors of St. Peter. The summoning of General Councils and their dissolution appertains to the Pope alone; from him, as from the head, all power flows into the members.

The decision with which Pius II. resisted the Conciliar Party was also manifested in regard to the encroachments of the temporal power on the liberty of the Church. In Italy he had to defend himself against attacks of this kind from Siena and Venice, and from Borso d'Este.* The appointment of Bishops to the Sees of Cracow and Leon involved him in disputes with the monarchs of Poland and Castile and Leon.† In these two cases he was defeated, but in Aragon a Pragmatic Sanction, which threatened the liberty of the Church, was annulled. This matter was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by Stefano Nardini.‡

If Pius II. pronounced many censures, the circumstances of the time were the cause. As far as in him lay he was circumspect in the employment of these weapons, and their increasing inefficacy is one of the most serious tokens of the waning influence of the Church.§

In 1459 he felt bound, in defence of the integrity of the Faith, to take measures against the heretical writings of Reginald Pecock, who was tainted with the errors of Wicklif, and had, in 1457, been deprived of the Bishopric

* See **Brief to the Doge on the 14th March 1460, in the Borghese Library, I., 28, f. 19, and to Borso of Este, Ep. 10, edit. Mediolan. In reference to Siena, see the *Letter of L. Benevolentius, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 1. State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Comment. 103 (not 503, as FRIEDBERG, II., 539, states). Further details as to the contest with the King of Poland will be found, *supra*, p. 232; VOIGT, III., 575; and ZEISSBERG, 230 *seq.*

‡ *Revocatio constitutionum in Aragonia contra libertatem ecclesiasticam. Cod. I., 28, f. 291–3, Borghese Library.

§ See *supra*, p. 163, note †; and VOIGT, III., 262.

of Chichester.* The Pope also gave orders for the punishment of a rigorist sect which declared celibacy to be necessary for salvation. These errors sprang up in Brittany while Picardy was infested by numerous Waldensees, against whom Pius II. pronounced severe sentences. "In the very States of the Church a sect appeared which would acknowledge no one as successor of St. Peter who did not follow his Master in poverty," a description which must apply to the Fraticelli. In Bergamo a Canon of the Cathedral taught that Christ suffered, not from love to the human race, but constrained by astral influences; that in the consecrated Host He is present, not in His Humanity but only in His Divinity; and that theft and robbery are not mortal sins.† The Dominican, Giacomo da Brescia, and the Papal Auditor, Bernardo da Bosco, induced the unhappy man to abjure his errors, which, by the Pope's command, he expiated by confinement in a convent for the rest of his life.

The name of Giacomo da Brescia is connected with a dogmatic dispute which, even in the time of Clement VI., had divided the Franciscans and Dominicans. The question between them was, whether the Blood shed by our Lord in His Passion, and reassumed at His Resurrection, was, during the three days He remained in the Sepulchre, hypostatically united with the Godhead, and therefore entitled to worship? The celebrated Minorite Preacher, St. Jacopo

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1459, N. 29. (In the collection of Bulls in the State Archives, Venice, I saw a copy of the document given by Raynaldus.) Regarding Pecock, see PAULI, Gesch. von England, V., 664 *seq.*, and REUSCH, I., 36, II., 1219.

† BERNINO, IV., 184; VOIGT, III., 581. Here there should have been a reference to the work of BOURQUELOT, Les Vaudois au 15e Siècle, in the Bibl. de l'école des chart., 2nd Series, 1846, III., 81–109. See also FIERVILLE, 27 *seq.*; LEA, III., 519 *seq.*, 568; and SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., LXI., 57.

della Marca,* in the pulpit at Brescia, on Easter Sunday, 1462, maintained the negative, and was, at the instance of the Dominican, Giacomo da Brescia, publicly accused of error and heresy. A hot dispute at once arose between the Franciscans and Dominicans which the Bishop of Brescia in vain endeavoured to appease. Then Pius II., under pain of Excommunication, forbade any one to preach publicly or privately on the question.† Notwithstanding this prohibition the agitation continued, and accordingly, at

* See the literature concerning this distinguished man in CHEVALIER, 1144-5, 2665. Autograph drafts of sermons and other writings from his hand are preserved at Monteprandone (Prov. Ascoli Piceno). Regarding the MSS. in the Library at Monteprandone, *cf.* BRUTI LIBERATI, F., Inediti documenti sulla bibl. et reliquie di S. Giacomo detto della Marca publ. per la prima messa del sig. ab. A. Romandini (Ripatransone, 1845). TASSO, L., in the Miscell. Francesc., I., fasc. 4 (Foligno, 1886). CRIVELLUCCI, I codici della libreria raccolta da S. Giacomo della Marca nel convento di S. Maria delle grazie presso Monteprandone (Livorno, 1886). Two MSS. of S. Jacopo della Marca are preserved in the Franciscans' Library at Quaracchi ; these are like our note-books. The outside shews them to have been much used. Some leaves were only written in part by the Saint, and another hand (of the same period) has written in the blank spaces little stories and anecdotes which must have been related by him, as we learn from the note : *narrat. Fr. Jacobus.* Here and there single leaves have been cut out of both these little books ; in some places several sheets even are wanting. The contents of both volumes consist of Treatises on Theology, Canon Law, and Philosophy, plans of sermons, little stories and examples for preachers, and such like. The author frequently cites Holy Scripture, the Fathers, the Classics (Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Dante), and makes great use of the Scholastics and the writers on the Summa of the 13th and 14th centuries. At the beginning of each of these little books is an Index rubricarum. (Information kindly given by Herr Fr. B. Rechte.)

† WADDING, 206 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*; and GLASSBERGER, 394. Concerning the contest, see also GRADONICUS, 348 *seq.*, and the Introduction to Dominici, De dignit. Episc., 22 *seq.*

Christmas, 1462, a great Disputation was held by the Pope's order, and in his presence. Domenico de' Domenichi, Lorenzo Roverella, and the Franciscan, Francesco della Rovere, greatly distinguished themselves. After three days of discussion a consultation was held with the Cardinals, most of whom, as well as Pius II., pronounced in favour of the Dominican opinion.* A definite Decree on the subject, however, was deemed inopportune; the services of the Minorites as preachers of the Crusade were indispensable, and Pius II. was therefore unwilling to offend them. The fact that, in August, 1464, the Pope was again obliged to forbid preaching and disputation on this point, shews that the conflict continued.†

Although Pius II. did not follow the example of his predecessors in instituting any new Church festivals, he observed those which already existed with great solemnity. This remark is specially applicable to the Feast of Corpus Christi. In 1461 Pius was in Rome at the time, and himself carried the Host in the great Procession, in order to

* Pii II. Comment. 279 *seq.* At 292 occurs the following passage: "Maior pars sententiam praedicatorum approbavit, pauci cum Minoribus sensere. Pius quoque in maiori parte fuit: sed non est visum eo tempore decretum fieri declarationis ne multitudo Minorum, cuius erat contra Turcos praedicatio necessaria offenderetur: in aliud tempus decisionem referre placuit." BENRATH, Ochino (Leipzig, 1875), is to be corrected by this statement. See also CUGNONI, 299–336. VOIGT, III., 592, has already observed that in the Pope's Memoirs (also in the Cod. Reg., 1995, f. 487b, mentioned in Appendix N. 65), the year 1463 is wrongly given as that of the Disputation. Perhaps this may be explained by the fact that the New Year was often counted from Christmas. Any idea that the Disputation might have been at Christmas, 1463, is removed by a *Letter from Cardinal Gonzaga to his parents, dated Rome, 1463, Jan. 7. Gonzaga Archives. LEA, II, 173, is accordingly altogether wrong in placing the Disputation in the year 1463.

† Bull. V., 180–82; Bull. Ord. Praed., III., 434.

express his veneration for the Holy Sacrament of the Altar.* In the following year, when he was at Viterbo seeking relief from the gout which caused him so much suffering, the Feast was celebrated with surpassing splendour. All the pomp and pageantry of the Renaissance were pressed into the service of religion. From the Church of St. Francesco to the Cathedral, in the streets through which the Procession was to pass, all booths and other obstructions were cleared away, and the work of adorning the houses was distributed amongst the Cardinals, Prelates, and members of the Court then in the City, the Pope reserving a share for himself. The rich tapestries of the French Cardinals were a marvel to behold. Other members of the Sacred College prepared Tableaux Vivants representing appropriate scenes. Torquemada exhibited the Institution of the Blessed Eucharist ; a statue of St. Thomas Aquinas was included in the group. Carvajal depicted the fall of the Angels ; Borgia had a fountain of wine symbolising the Blessed Sacrament, with two adoring angels ; Bessarion's represented a choir of angels. There were also exhibitions which we can scarcely understand in the present day, such as combats of savages with wolves and bears. A Holy Sepulchre was erected in the market-place, from which, as the Pope drew near, the Saviour arose, and, in Italian verse, announced the redemption of the world. The tomb of the Blessed Virgin was also to be seen, and, after High Mass and Benediction, her Assumption was represented by living figures. The streets through which the Procession took its course were hung with garlands ; there were sky-blue awnings decorated with golden stars ; gorgeous triumphal arches and altars of repose had been erected, and sacred music

* See the *Report of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, June 4, and addressed to the Marchioness Barbara immediately after the Feast. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

resounded on every side. Thousands of persons had congregated from the surrounding neighbourhood. Pius II. in full pontificals bore the Blessed Sacrament. The chroniclers of Viterbo affirm that so glorious a festival had never been celebrated, either in their City or in any part of Italy.*

Canonisations were always celebrated by the Popes with great magnificence. The Pontificate of Pius II. witnessed only one event of this kind, that of St. Catherine of Siena.† She died at the age of thirty-three, and, like St. Francis of Assisi, was at once venerated by the people as a Saint. Her letters were widely read; even a rationalistic historian describes them as a "magnificent book of devotion, parts of which seem more like the words of an Apostle than those of an unlearned maiden." Her likeness, copies of which had, by the beginning of the 15th century, been multiplied in Venice, was in the possession of thousands.‡ Yearly, on the day of her death, her feast was

* Besides the detailed description given by Pius II. (Comment. 208–11), see the not less full account of N. DELLA TUCCIA, 84–7; also CAMPANUS, 982; KITZING'S Report in SS. Rer. Siles., VIII., 105–6; and the notices of a MS. in the Forteguerri Archives at Pistoja, given by CIAMPI, II., from the Episcopal Archives at Viterbo; and BURCKHARDT, Cultur, II., 151, 3rd ed. (A similar representation by living persons took place in the Corpus Christi procession at Munich, in the year 1563. OBERBAYER, Archiv XIII., 58.) For an account of the solemn reception of the head of St. Andrew, see *supra*, p. 258.

† St. Vincent Ferrer had been canonised by Calixtus III. on the 29th June, 1455; see our account Vol. II., p. 326. As, meanwhile, the "literae ejus superveniente obitu minime confectae fuerunt," Pius II. issued on the 1st Oct., 1458, a new Bull, entered in Regest. 468, f. 377 *seq.*, printed in Bull. V., 145–9; in BZOVIUS, 1458, N. 38; and FONTANINI, Codex constit. quas s. pontif. edit. in solemni canonizatione Sanctor., 175 *seq.* (Romae, 1729); in part in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1455, N. 40 *seq.*, and Acta SS. April. 1, 524–5.

‡ HASE, Caterina von Siena, 174, 302 (Leipzig, 1864). See REUMONT, Briefe, 21–2.

kept at the Dominican Convent, her panegyric preached, and wreaths of flowers and crowns were laid before her picture. In the evening a dramatic representation of the principal scenes of her life was performed in the Court of the Convent. The choruses sung on this occasion are still preserved ; the following is one of them : " O sweet city of ours, Siena, birth-place of the Holy Virgin, the glory of this poor maiden outweighs all thy other glories." *

The Holy See had never forgotten its debt to this simple nun. Several of the Popes, especially Gregory XII., had taken the cause of her Canonisation in hand, but the troubles of the time, and afterwards the jealousy of the Franciscans, prevented its completion. The question was again raised by the Sienese Ambassadors in the time of Calixtus III.† Pius II. gave it his attention immediately on his accession, and entrusted the necessary investigations to certain Cardinals.‡ At the Congress of Mantua further progress was made in the matter, but, as the Holy See proceeded with its usual circumspection, it was not concluded until 1461.§ Consistories were held on the 8th and 15th June, and in the latter the Canonisation was finally decided.‖ Great preparations were made ; an Ambassador

* CHAVIN, III., 83. Regarding the terra-cotta clay bust of St. Catherine, see BODE, Ital. Portrait-sculpturen, 32 (Berlin, 1883).

† BANCHI, in Arch. Stor. Ital., 4, Serie V., 442.

‡ Two Decrees of Cardinals Bessarion and Colonna, dated Ferrara, 1459, May 19, and ordering the introduction of the Process of Canonisation, are in the Library of Siena. As far as I know they have not been published.

§ Tre lettere di M. G. MIGNANELLI, 15. In the *Instructions, dated 14th Sept., 1459, for the new Ambassadors, Lod. de Petroni and Niccolo Severino, sent by Siena to Mantua, they are again charged to press forward the Canonisation. Instr. VIII., State Archives, Siena.

‖ *Report of B. Bonatto, dated Rome, 1461, June 8 and 15. See the *Letter of Carlo da Franzoni of 18th June, 1461 (Gonzaga Archives.

estimates the expenses at 3000 ducats.* On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Siena's most distinguished son declared that the Church had raised the greatest of her daughters to the Altar. The Pope himself drew up the Bull of Canonisation. "To a Sienese," he says, "has been granted the happy privilege of proclaiming the sanctity of a daughter of Siena."† Pius II. further composed an Epitaph, the Office, and several Latin hymns in honour of the new Saint.

The Italians, in whose hearts the memory of Catherine was ever fresh, were full of joy, which found expression in solemn processions.‡ The inhabitants of Fontebranda, the quarter of Siena in which she was born, turned the house into an Oratory. This Sanctuary has been beautifully decorated, and still contains many relics of the Saint.§ Other memorials of her abound in the ancient city. Pinturicchio painted her Canonisation in the library hall of the Cathedral, and in the Chapel of S. Domenico, where her

Mantua); and the *Report of the Sienese Ambassador of 8th June, 1461. State Archives, Siena.

* *Letter of B. Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara, June 29, 1461. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Pii II. Comment. 135; INFESSURA, 1139; *Letter of B. Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1461, June 29. (Gonzaga Archives.) The Bull of Canonisation is given with a wrong date in Bull. V., 159–65; the correct date in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1461, N. 127. In a separate publication (Siena, 1861), Acta Sanct., CHAVIN, III., 99–108; Bull. Ord. Praed., III., 409 *seq.*; and CAPECELATRO, Storia di S. Caterina, 477 *seq.*, here at p. 473 *seq.* are also the hymns composed by Pius II. See also CUGNONI, 370; and TROMBY, VII., p. cclxvii. *seq.*

‡ Annal. Placent., 906; Annal. Bonon., 893; *GHIRARDACCI (see *supra*, p. 243); TROMBY, IX., 5–6. Pius II. celebrated the feast of the new Saint with great pomp; I found in Cod. Vatic., 4589, f. 48–74, of the Vatican Library, a discourse pronounced before the Pope on this occasion, in 1463, by D. de' Domenichi.

§ See REGOLI, Documenti relativi a S. Caterina (Siena, 1859); and A. BUSIRI, La casa di S. Cat. in Siena (Siena, 1880).

head is preserved, Sodoma's picture is perhaps the most beautiful and touching likeness of her that exists. Rome also has many memorials of the Saint; in 1855, when Pius IX. laid her body in a new resting-place beneath the High Altar of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, and again, in 1866, when the same Pontiff added a fresh jewel to her Crown by declaring her Patroness of the Eternal City, the Romans did not fail to pay due honour to her memory.

After the election of Pius II. the Sacred College numbered twenty-three members, of whom only seventeen were then present in Rome. Late in the summer of 1459, when James of Portugal and Antonio de la Cerda were removed by death, the Pope had but fifteen Cardinals around him.* This circumstance, and the opposition manifested by the French party immediately after the Conclave, compelled him at once to consider the question of further creations.† These were violently opposed by some Cardinals, especially by Scarampo.‡ The Pope, however, stood firm; "it was necessary that he should secure a devoted majority. This must be remembered in our judgment of the much blamed practice of promoting relations. In the Apostolic Senate, as he found it, Pius II. had determined adversaries and few friends, and this compelled him to make fresh nominations."§

* According to the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives, f. 28b, Cardinal James died on the 27th Aug.; de la Cerda on the 12th September. See the *Letter of one "Francesco," whose full name is not known, to Filippo da Strozzi in the C. Strozz., 242 *seq.*, 249. State Archives, Florence.

† See in Appendix N. 3, the *Despatch of Antonio da Pistoja of 21st Aug., 1458. Ambrosian Library.

‡ See Pii II. Comment. 97–8 (Gaspary, 655, shews Voigt to have completely misunderstood this passage), and the important supplement in Cugnoni, 199–200.

§ Voigt, III., 528. Many of the secular powers also urged the

Not until March, 1460, was all opposition overcome; on the 5th of that month Pius II. created his first batch of Cardinals at Siena. Those chosen were all excellent men. Angelo Capranica, brother of the estimable Cardinal Domenico, was distinguished by his austerity, piety, and uprightness, and was also considered to be an admirable administrator.* Bernardo Eroli was celebrated for similar qualities. "Although raised to the Bishopric of Spoleto, and invested with several small offices, he had continued poor. Pius II. had the greatest confidence in him, and shewed him marked favour. Some of the Cardinals opposed his elevation on account of his plebeian origin and needy position, but the Pope took no heed of their objections. He made him Legate for Perugia, and Eroli held this appointment until his death, many years later. He was stern in manner, even harsh and rough, but all who knew him were obliged to confess that he not only thoroughly understood justice, but also practised it." †

The brave Niccolo Forteguerri, the third of the Cardinals created on this occasion, combined diplomatic skill with remarkable military talents, and was distantly related to the Pope. The reader will remember the services he

creation of Cardinals. Florence pleaded the cause of Filippo de' Medici, Bishop of Arezzo; see the *Letters to the College of Cardinals and the Pope of the 19th and 20th Febr., and 3rd March, 1460 (11 X. Dist. I. n. 55, State Archives, Florence), and the **Brief of apology of Pius II. to Cosmo de Medici, dated Siena, 1460, March 7, Lib. brev. 9, f. 127.

* See CIACONIUS, II., 1035; RASPONUS, 98, Cronica di Bologna, 733; Annal. Bonon., 894; CARDELLA, 136 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 532; MIGNE, Card., 619. O. de Carretto, in a *Letter of 12th Sept., 1458, partly written in cipher, bestows the highest praise on A. Capranica. State Archives, Milan.

† VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; EROLI, Miscell. Narn., I., 104 *seq.*; SANSI, Storia, 52, 62; MIGNE, Card., 928; see *supra*, p. 32.

rendered to the Papal cause in the war against the party of Anjou and Malatesta. The assertion of a modern historian that there was more of the soldier than of the priest in Forteguerri, is contradicted by the opinion of well-informed contemporaries.*

His youthful age was all that could be brought against Francesco de' Todeschini-Piccolomini, son of the Pope's sister, Laudomia. He was a man of distinguished "culture, versatile capacity, and estimable life." †

Alessandro Oliva, General of the Augustinians, was in every sense an admirable man. Pius II. introduced him to the Cardinals, "elect of God, and perfect like Aaron." "In the fifth year of his age, his parents had consecrated him to God and the Blessed Virgin; for forty-two years he had belonged to the Augustinian Hermits, who adhered strictly to the ancient rule, and laboured assiduously to restore the failing credit of the Order." He had for many years been professor of Philosophy at Perugia. Later he traversed the greater part of Italy as a zealous and inspired preacher. Elected General of his Order in 1458, "his life was a shining example of perfection." From his unwearied efforts to appease party contests in the Italian cities, he was called the angel of peace. His summons to the Senate of the Church took him completely by surprise, and his friends had to supply the necessary outfit. Elevation to the purple made no

* In opposition to VOIGT, III., 530, see the Monograph of CIAMPI, 17, to which he had not access. Forteguerri had been made Vice-treasurer, and afterwards Bishop of Teano, by Pius II.; see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap. Regarding Forteguerri's inexcusable conduct in the year 1464, see our account in Chapter 8; respecting his palaces, see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 98 and 106, who greatly praises him; and BUSSI, 275. CORTESIUS, De Cardinalatu, CXXVIII., speaks of his earlier relations with Æneas Sylvius.

† VOIGT, III., 531; CIACONIUS, II., 1048 *seq.*; CARDELLA, 142 *seq.*

change in his austere life, or his rule of devoting six hours every day to the Canonical Office. He was often seen to shed tears when offering the Holy Sacrifice. Although his income was but small, Oliva was always ready to help the poor Exiles, needy Churches and Convents, and Greek Schismatics returning to the Church. He was a zealous patron of learned men. Gentle towards others he was severe towards himself, and wore a hair shirt beneath the purple. He never quitted his modest dwelling except to visit the Pope, the Cardinals, or the Churches. A heavy blow was dealt to the Church, when, in August, 1463, he was carried off by a fever at the age of fifty-five. Pius II. himself undertook the charge of his funeral, and presided at his obsequies. In his Memoirs, he writes of him with deep feeling: "He was an ornament to the Sacred College. The lustre shed by his learning was only equalled by the radiant purity of his life. Many men might have died, and no harm be done; this death inflicted a severe wound on the Church." *

If to have made such a man Cardinal, is one of the glories of Pius II., the general belief which prevailed that Oliva, if he had lived long enough, would have been the next Pope, reflects equal credit on the Sacred College.†

The sixth new Cardinal, Burchard of Weissbriach, Archbishop of Salzburg, was retained *in petto*, as the Pope did not wish to offend the other ultramontane Princes.‡ The

* Pii II. Comment. 329; Voigt, III., 532; Cardella, 142 *seq.*; and, especially, Lanteri, 51 *seq.*, who made use of a Manuscript Life of the Cardinal, by Phil. Nicolaus Basanti. Differences exist as to the day of his death; Voigt adopts the usual date of the 20th August; Lanteri and Migne, Card., 1289, have the 21st; but Card. Gonzaga mentions it in a *Letter of the 19th August, 1463. Gonzaga Archives.

† Ossinger, Bibl. Augustin., 640; Weiss, Vor der Ref., 103.

‡ *Brief to H. Senftleben, dated Rome, 1461, March 6th, Lib. brev. 9, f. 126b–127. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

rest were, "contrary to all expectation," published at once on the 5th March 1460.* Pius II. admonished them in an impressive address on the duties of their high office.† On the 8th March, Forteguerri, Eroli, and Oliva received the red hat, and on the 19th their titular Churches of S. Cecilia, S. Sabina, and S. Susanna. On the 21st of March Capranica and Todeschini-Piccolomini also arrived, and, five days later, the Churches of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Eustachio were assigned to them. Cardinal de Castiglione dying on the 14th April, Todeschini-Piccolomini was, on the last day of that month, appointed Legate of the Picentine Marches.‡

All the Cardinals published on the 5th March were Italians. It was impossible, however, permanently to disregard the feelings of the Ultramontane powers As early as December, 1460, Pius II. began to speak of the necessity of shewing them consideration in this matter, but he again encountered violent opposition.§ A year elapsed before he

* Besides Pii II. Comment., *loc. cit.*, see N. DELLA TUCCIA, 79; Annal. Bonon., 892; Cronica di Bologna, 733; and particularly, *Acta Consist., f. 29. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Pii II. Comment. 99. In the catalogue of the Brera, at Milan, a speech to the new Cardinals, in Codex A. G. IX., 26, f. 169–70, is noted as unpublished (Verba quibus usus est Pius II. P. M. cum primos suos cardinales creavit). This discourse is completely different from that in MANSI, II., 89–91, in which the new Cardinals are described, but is literally identical with that in the Commentaries, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*

§ The *Letter from the Florentines to the Pope and the College of Cardinals, dated 9th Dec., 1460 (11 X. Dist. I. N. 55, State Archives, Florence), shews that a fresh creation of Cardinals was in contemplation at the end of 1460. In October, 1461, Pius II. made another attempt (see CUGNONI, 214); the assembly of Cardinals called together in November (see Cronica di Bologna, 714) was no doubt connected with this matter. The date when the negotiations began appears from the statement that Cardinal Fieschi died at the time. His death took

was able to carry out his purpose. On the 18th December, 1461, three Italians and three Ultramontanes were added to the Sacred College.* Among the Ultramontanes, the names of Jouffroy and d'Albret have already come before us. Their elevation, like that of Jayme de Cordova, Bishop of Urgel, and of Francesco Gonzaga, was due to princely influence. "From the time of the Turkish Congress close relations had existed between Pius II. and the family of Gonzaga, and from a yet earlier period between the Pope and the Hohenzollerns. Lodovico, the most cultured noble of an intellectual age, sympathised with the Pope in his efforts for the promotion of Science and Art. Francesco, who was twenty years of age, was pursuing his studies at Padua when the Purple was conferred upon him. His tendencies were anything but ecclesiastical."†

place on the 8th October, 1461; see * Acta Consist. On the 7th Oct. Paulus Archiepisc. Januen. et Hybletus de Flisco, writing to the Pope from Genoa, informed him: "*R^dus Card. de Flisco . . . laborat in extremis." State Archives, Genoa, Lit., Vol. 1b.

* The common statement which VOIGT, III., 535, adopts, that seven Cardinals were published, is incorrect; for Pius II., in his **Letter to Florence of 18th Dec., 1461 (State Archives, Florence), expressly says that he had nominated only three Italian and three foreign Cardinals. N. DELLA TUCCIA, 267; and KITZINGS in SS. Rer. Siles., VIII., 69, give the same account. The 18th Dec. is proved beyond all doubt to be the day of the nomination by the *Brief of that date of Pius II. to Fr. Sforza, in which Ammanati's creation is announced (State Archives, Milan) by a *Despatch of L. Petronius of 18th Dec., 1461 (State Archives, Siena), and by the Decree for Rovella, which will be cited presently.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 258–9; see Lorenzo, I., 235 *seq.*, 2nd ed. From the year 1460 efforts had been made to obtain Francesco's nomination; see PORTIOLI, 13, 16, and HOFMANN, Barbara, 16. Later on these negotiations were conducted by B. Bonatto, the Ambassador, from Mantua to Rome (PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 860), whose *Letters in the Gonzaga Archives enable us to follow the course of the affair. In a *Letter of the 14th Dec., 1461, he first confidentially informs Marchioness

He took, however, a lively interest in Literature and Art.*

The two other Italians who entered the Sacred College, Bartolomeo Roverella and Jacopo Ammanati, came of poor families, and were distinguished by a good humanist culture. Roverella had to thank Nicholas V. for his nomination to the Archbishopric of Ravenna. From that time forward, "he had been unceasingly occupied in political Embassies or the administration of the States of the Church, under Pius II. he had governed the March of Ancona and Umbria, and he had especially distinguished himself in the Legation in the Kingdom of Naples during the war against the Anjou." Vespasiano da Bisticci praises the conscientiousness, the fear of God, the simplicity and humility of Roverella.† Ammanati was born in 1422, at Villa Basilica

Barbara that the promotion of her son had been determined in a Secret Consistory that very day, and that the publication was to take place on the following Friday. Barbara, herself, subsequently thanked the Elector Albrecht for his intervention in this matter; see SPIESS, Brandenburg, Münzbelustigungen, IV. 302 (Ansbach, 1771). Some of the Cardinal's *Letters are to be found in the Royal Archives, Berlin; his *Correspondence with his parents, which I discovered in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, is extremely valuable, and has been of the greatest use to me in the present work. In the above-mentioned Archives, I saw an autograph letter from Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to Marchioness Barbara, dated ex urbi, 1461, Dec. 18, announcing Francesco's elevation. Cardinal Gonzaga started for Rome on March 4, 1462 (SCHIVENOGLIA, 149), arrived there on the 23rd, and was received in Consistory on the following day. See *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* The enthusiastic interest taken by Gonzaga in Art is clearly shewn in his will. See MÜNTZ, III., 297–300.

† MAI, Spicileg., I., 196–200; GRAZIANI, 614; CANENSIUS, 85 *seq.*; GASP. VERONEN., 1033; BLONDUS, It. Illustr., 355; QUIRINI, Mon. lit. episc. Venetae ditionis., 1742; VOIGT, III., 537. The Decree of Roverella's nomination, dat. Romae, 1461. xv. Cal. Jan. in Regest. 484, f. 22b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

near Lucca, and went at an early age to Florence, where he laid the foundation of his classical studies.* In the time of Nicholas V. he came to Rome; there he lived in the greatest poverty, entered the service of Capranica, and under Calixtus III. became Apostolic Secretary. Pius II., on the very day of his election, confirmed him in this appointment. It soon became evident that he enjoyed the special favour of the new Pope, who, in 1460, conferred upon him the Bishopric of Pavia. His episcopal labours were most fruitful, and during his long absence he took care that his place should be properly filled. Ammanati looked up to Pius II., who had received him into the Piccolomini family, and invested him with the rights of a citizen of Siena, "with affectionate reverence." The Sienese Pontiff was his ideal in literary matters. His continuation of the Commentaries, and his numerous letters, are quite in the Pope's style; they are among the most important historical authorities of the period. The loss of his "Life of Pius II." is greatly to be regretted. Although not perfectly free from Humanistic vanity and irascibility, the Cardinal of Pavia was a good man: his will bears witness to the generosity and kindliness of his disposition.†

The elevation of the Archbishop of Salzburg was not published till the 31st May, 1462, at Viterbo.‡ There is no

* See especially the Monograph of Pauli; I make use of this rare work from the National Library at Florence, which was unknown to Voigt, and even to Tiraboschi.

† PAULI, 100–107.

‡ *1462, XXXI. Maii. Eodem die fuit publicatus dom. Card. Salzburgen. Acta Consist., f. 30b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) VOIGT, III., 542, is to be corrected by this statement. See also ZACHARIAS, It. Litt., 72 *seq.* (Venet., 1752); Anecd. Litt., III., 355 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 538 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 202, 337; Lorenzo, I., 405, 2nd edit., and MAGENTA, I., 471. According to the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican, Ammanati had already received the

authority for the assertion that the Bishop of Eichstätt, John III. von Eich, was also at this time raised to the Purple. There can be no doubt that his zeal in the reformation of his diocese well deserved such a distinction; but the Calendars of Eichstätt do not mention it, and the fact that the Consistorial Acts of the Secret Archives are equally silent is conclusive.* In the year 1463 the Sacred College lost two of its members, Prospero Colonna and Isidore.† Their places, however, were not filled, though, during the remainder of Pius II.'s Pontificate some princes sought to bring about fresh creations of Cardinals.‡

Pius II. was not an enthusiast for Art, like his predecessor Nicholas V., or his successors Paul II. and Leo X.; nevertheless he appreciated it keenly, and did much for its promotion. Numerous architects, sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and miniature painters were employed by him; but the government of the Church was the engrossing interest of his life.§

Hat on the 19th December, and on the 8th January, 1462, the title of S. Crisogono.

* EGGS, 180–81, who, like CARDELLA, 157, maintains that John was created Cardinal, gives only recent authorities; VOIGT, III., 542, none at all. John's promotion to the Sacred College was called in question by CONTELORIUS, Elenchus, 56; see also SUTTNER in the Eichst. Pastoralblatt, 163 (1854).

† P. Colonna died on the 24th March, Isidor on the 27th April, 1463; see *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* See *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of 27th April, 1463. Gonzaga Archives.

‡ O. de Carretto, Fr. Sforza's Ambassador, repeatedly sought to obtain the elevation of Nardini, the Archbishop of Milan. See Carretto's *Letters, dated Siena, 1464, April 4 (Ambrosian Library), and Rome, 1464, June 6. State Archives, Milan.

§ MÜNTZ, I., 220 *seq.*, 308 *seq.*, and Bibl. du Vatican, 122 *seq.* I find no mention in Müntz of the splendid disc-shaped Monstrance, with the embossed figures of the Pope praying on one side, and on the other an Agnus Dei, which he had given to the City of Basle. An Inscription

Both the Vatican Palace and St. Peter's were embellished by this Pontiff. The tribune for the Papal Benediction, and the new Chapel of St. Andrew, which he caused to be erected, are important works, and deserve special notice. "A spacious platform, to which an imposing flight of steps 133 feet wide led up, then occupied that side of the Piazza of St. Peter's, where Bernini's colonnades now meet. Beyond this platform was the entrance to the Atrium, supported by columns, which had to be traversed in order to reach the five doors of the ancient Church. On this platform Pius II. erected the new tribune, having first restored the steps which were much dilapidated, and adorned them with colossal statues of SS. Peter and Paul." In 1463 the celebrated Mino da Fiesole was employed here. Antique pillars supported the tribune, which was covered with

declares it to have been sent by him, in 1460, to the City of Basle, in token of ancient friendship. There is a description of this work of art in BURCKHARDT-RIGGENBACH, Der Kirchenschatz des Münsters zu Basel, X., 9 *seq.* (1867); it is now among the treasures of the Art Museum at Berlin. I know four rings of Pius II.'s: (1) one at Nachod, in Bohemia, of copper-gilt, with a false ruby, at the four sides, on the upper part, are the emblems of the Evangelists, on the hoop the arms of the Piccolomini, the Keys of St. Peter, and the words: Papa Pio. A representation of it is given by M. Beermann, Alt-und Neu-Wien 555–60 (1888). (2) A similar ring, with a topaz, in the collection of an Englishman, Th. Windus, is given in Illustr. Ztg., I., 345 (1879), and Alte und neue Welt, 334 (1886). (3) Another, like it, in the Ferdinandeum, at Innsbruck, not yet engraved, origin unknown. (4) A ring in the Museo del opera del duomo, at Siena, formerly in the Bibl. Comm. Bishops' and Prelates' rings of this period, in copper, are by no means rare. I am able to give some account of the Siena ring. In a *Letter from Paul V. to Silvio Piccolomini, dated Romae xiv. Cal. April., 1610, A° 5°, which I found in the Siena Library, B.V. 5, f. 160, are the following words: "*Annulus quem tibi mittimus nuper repertus fuit in sepulcro fel. rec. praed. nostri Pii II. S. P. Gentilis tui, dum ampliandae principis apostolorum sanc^mae basilicae [causa] ex antiquo loco dimoveretur."

marble sculptures. The Chapel of St. Andrew, to the left of the principal entrance of the ancient Church, was built to receive the head of that Apostle. This beautiful shrine was destroyed when the Basilica was rebuilt. Some fragments of the magnificent reliquary, in which the head of the Saint was kept, are preserved in the Grotto of St. Peter's. Recent investigations have proved that all Pius II.'s great works were carried out under the direction of the sculptors, Paolo di Mariano (Romano), and Ysaias of Pisa.*

The roof of St. Peter's, the Lateran, S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, S. Stefano, S^ta^ Maria Rotunda (Pantheon), the Capitol, many of the bridges, and also the wall encircling the city, were repaired by Pius II.† It is evident that the mighty projects of Nicholas VI. had no attraction for him. Rome was to him the city of ruins. While yet a Cardinal he gave expression, in a well-known epigram, to that sense of the transitory nature of all earthly things which the Eternal City, more than any other place in the world, tends to impress on the mind.

> O Rome ! thy very ruins are a joy,
> Fall'n is thy pomp, but it was peerless once !
> The noble blocks wrench'd from thy ancient walls
> Are burn'd for lime by greedy slaves of gain.
> Villains ! If such as you may have their way
> Three ages more, Rome's glory will be gone.‡

* MÜNTZ, I., 244 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*, 277 *seq.* ; JANITSCHEKS, Repert., IV., 426 *seq.*, 429 *seq.* ; CANCELLIERI, De Secret, 702 *seq.* ; KINKEL, 3059, 3076 ; BONANNI, Num., 180 ; FORCELLA, VI., 39 ; GEOFFROY, 382 *seq.*

† NIBBY, Mura, 290 ; FORCELLA, XIII., 5 ; MÜNTZ, I., 293 *seq.* ; Rev. Archéol., VII., 136, 238 (1886). In 1888, on the city walls between the Pretorian Camp and the Porta Pinciana, I saw the coat of arms of Pius II. in good preservation, with the ancient small tiara.

‡ MABILLON, Mus. Ital., I., 97. Beschreibung von Rom., I., 257.

This feeling comes out still more strongly in the Bull issued by Pius II., on the 28th April, 1462.* In it he forbids the injury or breaking down of ancient buildings in Rome, and in the Campagna, even on private property, reserving to himself the right of making any alterations that may become necessary. The Pope's account books shew that he frequently availed himself of this right.† A Roman citizen, Lorenzo, the son of Andrea Mattei, was appointed architectural superintendent of the City.‡ Many buildings were erected, mostly for military purposes, and various restorations carried out in the States of the Church by the Pope's order, and at his expense, at Assisi, Civita, Castellana, Civita-Vecchia, Narni, Nepi, Orvieto, and Viterbo. A new harbour was made at Corneto, and, as we have already mentioned, a fort was built at Tivoli.§

The ancient city of Siena is still full of memories of Pius II. and the Piccolomini. In the Cathedral an inscription records his gift to it of an arm of St. John the Baptist; also that he had raised it to the rank of a Metropolitan Church, and, in 1460, granted an Indulgence there. A second inscription on the uncompleted wall of the projected larger Cathedral commemorates his prolonged stay at Siena. We have more than once mentioned the frescoes in the Cathedral Library, which are so striking a memorial

* THEINER, III., 422–3.

† See MÜNTZ, I., 266 *seq.* Regarding Pius II.'s care for the preservation of the old Church in Luni, see SFORZA, 270–1.

‡ "*Laurentius Andrae Matthei civis Romanus constituitur officialis aedificiorum et magister stratarum urbis. D. Romae, 1458, Sept. Id. Sept. A° 1°." Regest. 515, f. 22b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See *supra*, p. 48; PII II. Comment. 131; MÜNTZ, I., 228 *seq.*, 297 *seq.*; LASPEYRES, 8 and 32. In Orvieto, Pius II. provided for the restoration of the great hall in the Papal Palace; see FUMI, 718.

of this Pope, "in their abiding freshness and the splendour of their unfading colours."*

The lover of the past, as he walks through the streets of the City, which still retains a mediæval air, will notice on many of its houses and palaces the armorial bearings of the Piccolomini; he will admire the graceful vaulted hall (Loggia del Papa) which, according to the inscription, Pius II. dedicated to his family. The builder of this Loggia, commenced in 1460, was Antonio Federighi.† The architect, Bernardo, designed the plans for the dwelling which Pius II. caused to be erected for his sister, Caterina, in the principal street of Siena (Palazzo Piccolomini della Papesse, now Nerucci), and also for the magnificent Palace commenced by Giacomo and other Piccolomini, which still bears their name.‡ The stately splendour of the early Renaissance architecture is strikingly exemplified in this building, and yet more in the magnificent works in the Pope's birthplace.

Midway between Orvieto and Siena, near the ancient military road to Rome, and at three hours' distance from Montepulciano (famed for its wine), the Episcopal City of Pienza is enthroned upon a hill of Tufa. It is a straggling place, almost isolated in the Valley of Orcia, and the hill

* See *supra*, pp. 124 and 292; REUMONT, Briefe, I., 6; and KEYSSLER, Reisen, 409.

† MILANESI, Doc. per la storia dell' Arte Senese, II., 308, 321; FALUSCHI, 150; MÜNTZ, I., 305 *seq.* Siena e il suo territorio, 254 (Siena, 1862). According to the Report of a Sienese Ambassador of the 27th September, 1458, even at that time the Pope contemplated the erection of a beautiful palace in Siena; see PICCOLOMINI, Docum., 27; and, in relation to A. Federighi, see JANITSCHEK, Repert., XII., 277 *seq.*

‡ RUMOHR, II., 198 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 395. Pius II. also caused the Churches of S. Pellegrino, S. Martino, and S. Francesco in Siena to be restored. MILANESI, II., 311; MÜNTZ, I., 306.

on which it is built slopes steeply down towards the South East. Here once stood the Castle of Corsignano, and, in its neighbourhood, the country-house where the Pope was born. While still a Cardinal, Pius II., with "that warm love of home, which was a marked feature in his character," had adopted the poor parish; in 1459, after his elevation to the Papal Throne, he determined to adorn it with a new Cathedral and a Palace.* The works were at once begun; and, in 1460, the Pope personally inspected their progress. On account of the strained relations between Pius II. and the Republic, he did not visit Siena in 1461, or either of the two succeeding years, and devoted all the more attention to his birth-place.† In 1462 it was invested with municipal privileges, and named Pienza, and the Cardinals and Court officials were called upon to build residences there.‡ By the month of June, 1462, the Cathedral was sufficiently completed to be consecrated; and, in August of the same year, the City was made an Episcopal See.§

* RUMOHR, II., 177 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 130; PICCOLOMINI, Docum., 12. See *supra*, p. 51.

† See VOIGT, III., 559 *seq.* The tension was particularly great in July, 1462. See MALAVOLTI, 66, and especially the *Despatch of Nic. Severinus to Siena, dated ex castro abbatie S. Salvatoris, 1462, July 4. State Archives, Siena.

‡ On the 29th August, 1462, Cardinal Gonzaga informed his parents that the Pope had requested him to build a house in Pienza. A letter from Jac. de Aretio to Marchioness Barbara, dated Tivoli, 1463, July 31, shews that he again urged the matter in that year. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. G. Lolli, in a *Letter to Siena, dated Rome, 1462, Dec. 22, speaks in general of the expenditure of the Pope for Pienza. State Archives, Siena.

§ By a Bull of 13th August, 1462. In the *Register of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, 487, f. 187, it is entered in very large letters. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1462, N. 47, gives it, omitting part of the commencement, and it is complete in Bull. V., 186 *seq.* For an account of the Consecration, see Ist. di Chiusi, 993.

Pius II. calls the Director of these works by the name of Bernardus Florentinus, and in the Papal accounts he is styled Mastro Bernardo di Fiorenza. It is not, however, clear whether he is the same as Bernardo Rosellino, or Bernardo di Lorenzo, who built the vestibule of S. Marco in Rome. The original estimate was considerably exceeded, yet Bernardo continued in favour with the Pope, and was even entrusted with fresh commissions.* The Bishop's Palace, the Canon's residence, and the Town Hall are also his work.

The buildings we have mentioned are picturesquely grouped round a little square in which a fountain plays; to the south is the Cathedral, with its beautiful façade; near it, on the eastern side, is the grave and simple House of the Bishop (Vescovado); on the west the great Palace of the Piccolomini, an imposing edifice in the Florentine rustic style. Though now sadly dilapidated, the interior, "with its richly-coloured coffered ceilings, and beautiful doors and chimney-pieces, bears witness to the taste of the truly artistic Prince."† Each of the three storeys on the southern

* Pii. II. Comment. 235. Regarding the expense, which is over-estimated by Voigt, see Müntz, I., 301–2. The latter thinks that "according to all probability" by Bernardo di Fiorenza is meant B. Rosellino; this opinion is shared by Rumohr, II., 194; Redtenbacher, 132; Lützow, 324; and Burckhardt, Cicerone, 91; while Gsell-Fels, I., 221; and Lübke, Gesch. der Architektur, II., 684, 5th ed., uphold the claims of Bernardo di Lorenzo. Rosellino's identity, as Reumont in the Allg. Zeitg., 1883, p. 962, remarks, has not yet been established.

† H. Holtzinger, 23; Raschdorff, 7, 23–9. The coat of arms on the Bishop's Palace, of which Holtzinger, 20, gives a figure without any explanation, is that of R. Borgia, to whom Pius II. entrusted the superintendence of this building. The splendid ornaments of the façade of the Court of the Piccolomini Palace are represented in Dolmetsch, Der Ornamentenschatz (Stuttgart, 1887), Plate 47, N. 9–11. Regarding the interior disposition, see also Burckhardt,

side, overlooking the garden, has an open gallery which commands that magnificent view of the Etruscan hills, on to the basalt summits of Monte Amiata and wild Radicofani, which had such charms for a lover of nature like the Pope. Almost opposite the Cathedral, and separated from the Bishop's Palace by the principal street, is the Town Hall (Palazzo del pretorio), richly decorated in *Sgraffito*; "a true work of the bright and joyous early Renaissance." It has an open court, and at one corner a beautiful Campanile ornamented with elaborate iron-work.*

The Cathedral,† which has three doors, stands like that of Siena, with its choir overhanging the steep slope of the hill, and has under the High Altar, in imitation doubtless of that church, a Crypt accessible from the interior, which forms the Baptistery. The plan of the edifice is that of a Church with three Naves of equal height, an arrangement very unusual in Italy.‡ It appears to have been begun from the choir; there are many traces of the Northern Gothic style, the pointed windows have rich late Gothic ornaments. When we come to the beautiful façade, all these disappear, and the Renaissance reigns supreme.

Gesch. der Renaissance, 170 *seq.* By a *Bull, dat. Tiburi, 1463, xiv. Cal. Aug. A° 5° (Library at Siena, B. V. 5, f. 82), Pius II. gave his Palace at Pienza to his nephews, Antonio, Giacomo, and Andrea; see PICCOLOMINI, Doc. 12.

* See RASCHDORFF, Plates 30, 33, 90. BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Renaiss., 217, gives a ground plan of Pienza; the survey of HOLTZINGER, *loc. cit.*, Plate 16, is better and more accurate. I am indebted to the kindness of Herr Conservator Graus of Graz for many interesting observations regarding Pienza.

† The ground plan, façade, and section, are given by HOLTZINGER, Plates 16, 17; and by LASPEYRES, Die Kirchen der Renaiss. in Mittelitalien, Berlin, 1882.

‡ It is also to be found in the Gothic Cathedral at Perugia, and the Church S^ta^ Maria dell' Anima at Rome.

It is interesting to note the circle of chapels round the choir, contrary to the manner of the Italians. The general impression conveyed by the whole is that the architect had been desired to introduce certain Northern ideas, and this accords with the statement in the Pope's Memoirs.* He says he had decided on the form of a Church with Tribunes, because, from the examples which he had seen in Austria, "it appeared to him more beautiful and lighter." The Castle Church at Wiener-Neustadt (A. D. 1449), the Cathedral at Graz (A. D. 1446), and St. Stephen's at Vienna, may have suggested this type to him.†

The interior of the Cathedral was cased with marble, and the Pope issued a special Bull prohibiting the introduction of paintings, tablets, or any kind of adornment that could interfere with the effect of its glistening whiteness.‡ The stalls in the choir are extremely beautiful, with the Italian-Gothic carving and intarsia work, and on them the Pope's armorial bearings, supported by angels, with the date 1462, are introduced. On the other hand, almost all the furniture of the Church, holy water stoups, lectern, font, are of the best early Renaissance.§ A tabernacle in the same style as the Church is still to be seen in a chapel to the left, near the High Altar; in the other chapels are three altars with Italian wood-carvings in basso relievo, and pictures of the Sienese School.‖ In one of these chapels relics are kept, amongst others a portion of the head of St. Andrew.

* In the celebrated description of Pienza, reproduced by MÜNTZ, I., 353–60.

† KINKEL, 3059, only mentions St. Stephen's. Pius II., who did not finally leave Germany until May, 1455, may have seen both the other churches.

‡ PII II. Comment. 235; HOLTZINGER, 18, 19; and BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance, 154.

§ LÜTZOW, 325; HOLTZINGER, *loc. cit.*, 19 *seq.*, and Plate 18.

‖ LÜBKE, Ital. Malerei, I., 383; HOLTZINGER, *loc. cit.*, 20.

Pius II.'s Gothic Pectoral Cross and Chalice are preserved there, the latter high and wide in the cup. The richly embroidered Cope of the Pope is also there, with a number of more modern vestments.*

Campanus, Pius II.'s Court Poet, celebrated in verse the new creation of the early Renaissance, the effect of which is indeed strikingly complete and harmonious :—

" If I, Pientia, stand on high
In pomp and splendour drest,
My very name will tell you why
To me above the rest
Of country-towns there should be giv'n
A city's laws and state,
A rich Cathedral, solid walls,
A Palace fair and great.
Pius, the Pontiff, loves full well
The cradle of his race,
Envy me not, that he bestows
On me his special grace ! " †

* The Cope, in the autumn of 1883, shared the fate of many other works of art in modern Italy ; it has disappeared.

† HOLTZINGER, 24 ; RUMOHR, II., 178 ; REUMONT, III., 1, 517. Pienza is now again a lonely little country town, with about 3000 inhabitants, where it is difficult even to get a night's lodging. Some MSS. of the time of Pius II., which used to be kept there, are now removed.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Crusade and Death of Pius II.

The Pope's heroic determination to place himself personally at the head of the Crusade, in hope of thus inducing "all the Christian Powers to take part in it," had at first been kept secret. In March, 1462, it was communicated to six of the Cardinals, and was approved by them. They considered that it well became the Vicar of Christ to follow the example of his Master by giving his life for his sheep.

Pius II. had also, in a confidential autograph letter, informed the Doge of Venice, Prospero Malipiero, of his purpose. The reply of the Venetians was favourable, but so vague in its terms that it gave no indication as to whether they contemplated any change of policy.* Hitherto these selfish traders, looking to their commercial interests alone, had been careful to keep as far as possible on good terms with the Porte. At all the Conventions for organising united resistance to the Turks, "their ambassadors either kept away altogether, or arrived too late, or unprovided

* The Venetian **Reply to the Papal Letter (Epist. 44 of the Milan edit., with the wrong date, 1463 instead of 1462) is in the State Archives, Venice, Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 80. See *ibid.*, 86, *Letter to Pius II., dated 1462, April 22. The Pope was to keep secret the promises of Venice on behalf of the war; nor was he to mention to any one the assistance given by the Republic to Hungary; *ibid.*, f. 99b; "*Nic. Sagundino, secret. nost. ad S. Pontif.," 1462, July 19.

with sufficient powers, or else they insisted on impracticable conditions." * The Pope's exhortations were all in vain. The Venetian Government was unremitting in its preparations for the struggle which must eventually break out between the first naval power of the West and the new Empire on the Bosphorus. But, meanwhile, it was resolved to put off the evil day as long as might be.

The Doge, Prospero Malipiero, the leader of the peace party, died on the 5th May, 1462, and on the 12th of the same month Cristoforo Moro was elected as his successor. Great hopes of a change of policy, favourable to the Christian cause, seem to have been entertained at Rome. Cardinal Bessarion, in his letter of congratulation, said that a staunch defender had been won for the cause of religion, by this election.† The Pope, not content with merely writing, sent a special Ambassador, who made an oration in the style of the period, expressing the joy with which he welcomed the elevation of the Doge. Most of the Cardinals wrote separately in the same strain.‡

* HEYD-RAYNAUD, II., 318–9. See Vol. II. of the present work, p. 278.

† Bessarion's **Letter, dated Viterbo, 1462, May 24, is in Cod. Lat. XIII.–XC., f. 10b–11. St. Mark's Library, Venice.

‡ In the MS. referred to in the preceding note, the following passage occurs: "*Cum ill. princeps dom. Christoforus Mauro ad fastigium Venetorum ducatus promotus esset ab italorum exterorumque potentatibus congratulatorie littere misse fuerunt, quas ego Leonardus Sanudo tunc S. Ex. suarumque fortunarum curam egens in unum coegi. A°, 1462, xii. Maii." Here is inserted Pius II.'s letter of congratulation, dated Viterbo, 1462, Mai 18. Then "*Hec sequens oratio a Feltrensi praesule non superiori epistola Pius papa contentus coram praefato principe illust. suo nomine edita fuit, Et iterum per Bellunensem praesulem de eiusdem assumptione congratulatus est, ut sua mens magis perspecta fieret." At p. 7b–9b is the discourse, published in CUGNONI, 161 *seq.*; f. 10, the *Brief of Pius II., dated Viterbo, 1462, May 19, accrediting Donato, the Bishop of Belluno; f. 10b–14b, the Congratulatory letters of Cardinals Bessarion, Cusa (dat. in urbe veter. xi. Junii), Scarampo

The desired change, however, did not immediately take place, and Venice, while diligently continuing to make ready for war, was equally assiduous in her efforts to defer it.* In September, 1462, Lesbos was conquered by the Turks, while the Venetian Captain-General looked on at the head of a well-armed squadron of twenty-nine galleys without venturing to interfere. The extraordinary activity now displayed by the Sultan in strengthening and organising his naval forces made it evident that the commencement of the decisive struggle was not far distant.† Nevertheless, a powerful party still remained in Venice, which advocated conciliation and diplomacy.

The refusal of the Venetian authorities at Modon to give up a Christian slave, although in itself a trivial matter, "at last brought down the avalanche." In November, 1462, Omar Pasha ravaged the environs of Lepanto. The Pasha of the Peloponnesus in the following spring attacked the Venetian colonies in Argolis, and on the third of April, with the assistance of a treacherous Greek priest, obtained

(dat. "Monteflaschon.," xxv. Maii), Alain (dat. ex Viterbio, Cal. Jun.), Estouteville (dat. Viterbii, ult. Maii), Colonna (dat. ex terra nostra Ardie, vi. Junii), Calandrini (dat. apud balnea S. Philippi in agro Senensi, x. Junii), Barbo (dat. ex urbe, xx. Maii), Carvajal (dat. ex. Viterbio, ii. Junii), R. Borgia (dat. ex Viterbio, Cal. Juniis), Gonzaga (dat. Viterbii, i. Junii), ; f. 16, *Congratulations of Card. Roverella (dat. Beneventi, xii. Junii) ; 16b, *Congratulation of Card. Capranica (ex Bonnonia, xxiii. Julii, 1462). Early in the succeeding year Pius II. sent the Doge a blessed sword (still preserved in the Arsenal at Venice); see CICOGNA, VI., 575. On the 15th January, 1463, B. Giustiniano was charged to thank the Pope for the same. *Sen. Secr., XXI., 132b.

* Regarding the preparations, see the *Resolution of 6th Nov., 1462. Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 124b. State Archives, Venice.

† MALIPIERO, 11 ; CHALCOCONDYLAS, 529 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 675 ; ZINKEISEN, II., 243 *seq.* See also the *Despatch of Nicodemus of 12th Oct., 1462, State Archives, Milan.

possession of Argos. "Although it was now perfectly evident that the Porte meant the annihilation of the Venetian power, the Signoria still hesitated to declare war."* In the same spirit the Republic received the Ambassadors of the oppressed King of Bosnia very coldly, and absolutely declined the alliance which they proposed. Its action was very different when it was a question of supporting Malatesta in his revolt against Pius II., and appropriating the territory of the Church on the shores of the Adriatic.† Accordingly, by the end of June, Bosnia had become a Turkish province. The danger to Ragusa and the coast of Dalmatia caused great agitation throughout the whole of Italy,‡ and the war party took advantage of this to make another attempt to obtain a hearing. Vittore Capello, a man of strong and resolute character, was at their head. In a long speech he asserted that further delay was treason to the Republic. He pointed out that the seizure of Argos clearly shewed that the Sultan meant to try how far he could go. If his course were not checked, he would take possession of the other Venetian cities in the Peloponnesus, and even of Negroponte. It was necessary at last to shew this barbarian the power of the Christians; Constantinople, the Peloponnesus, and, finally, Bosnia, had been lost by delay. If they still remained with folded hands what could be expected but that the rest of the possessions of the Republic would be taken, and her subjects reduced to slavery. The war party

* HERTZBERG, Griechenland, II., 586; HOPF, 154. For an account of the preparations determined on, May 1463, in consequence of the loss of Argos, see *Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 152. State Archives, Venice.

† See SUGENHEIM, 339, and *supra*, p. 127.

‡ **Card. Gonzaga's letters of 22nd June and 1st July, 1463. See also Bart. Marasca's letter to Marchioness Barbara, dated Tibure die 30 Augusti, 1463. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

now became predominant, although their opponents still formed a considerable body.*

The panic occasioned in Venice by the conquest of Bosnia is evidenced by the altered tone of the instructions given to Bernardo Giustiniano, the Venetian Ambassador, to Rome. On the 10th June he was commissioned to impart the sad tidings to the Pope and the Cardinals. A fortnight later he was instructed to describe the further advance of the Turks into Croatia, and the danger which threatened Italy, and also to declare that his government had resolved to resist the enemy to the utmost. The Ambassador was to request the Pope's permission for the levy of the tithes, and the twentieth and thirtieth parts by the Signoria in their dominions, so that the war might be carried on, not merely for their own defence, but also for that of the other Christians.†

In spite of all these fair promises it soon appeared that the Venetians meant to carry on the inevitable war, as far as possible, with a view to their own private interests. These intentions were not hidden from their contemporaries. Pius II. drily says that the commercial position of the Morea, and the 300,000 ducats yearly derived from its customs, had won the Venetians over to the war.‡

* CHALCOCONDYLAS, 545 *seq.* ; ZINKEISEN, II., 297.

† The **Instructions are dated the 10th and 25th June, 1463, State Archives, Venice. The *Letter of Card. Gonzaga of the 22nd June, 1463, shews how indignant Pius II. had been at the former indifference of Venice. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ VOIGT, III., 695. The passage in the Commentarii, 314 *seq.*, is much stronger in the original edition. Here it is stated that the Venetians had been induced to take arms, not for the defence of religion, but with the aim of extending their dominions. CUGNONI, 228–9. The Milanese ambassadors also assert that the chief concern of the Venetians was the conquest of the Morea. See *Report, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 19. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

Another consequence of the fall of Bosnia was the termination of the unholy war which had divided the forces of the Hungarian kingdom, and "dangerously weakened this strongest bulwark of Christendom against Islam. To the Legate, Cardinal Carvajal, belongs the credit of having recognised the real position of affairs, as well as the needs of Christendom, and laboured unremittingly for peace while keeping aloof from the dynastic questions whose evil effects were before his eyes. The actual conclusion of the treaty in the year 1463 (24th July), at Wiener-Neustadt, was brought about through the mediation of the Pope." In it Corvinus was acknowledged as King for life, and in the case of his death, without legitimate issue, the succession was secured to the House of Hapsburg.*

The Pope, however, could not be satisfied with the adhesion of the Hungarians and Venetians alone. To succeed in such a task the co-operation of the whole of Italy and the Emperor, together with France and Burgundy, must also be secured. Bishop Lorenzo Roverella of Ferrara had been sent at Easter, 1462, to the last-named countries. But Louis XI. would have nothing to say to the war, which he declared to be a mere trick designed to

* REUMONT, III., 1, 144; VOIGT, III., 681 *seq.*; and HOFFMANN, 39 *seq.*, go at length into the subject of the Pope's mediation between the Emperor and Matthias. See BACHMANN, I., 389 *seq.*; Mittheil. der Œsterr., Inst., VIII., 664 *seq.*; and HUBER, III., 148 *seq.* A. POR (see Lit. Berichte aus Ungarn, IV., 412), in an article upon Pius II. and M. Corvinus, treats of the zeal and energy of Carvajal; we are also indebted to this writer for a more popular Biography of the Pope, Budapest, 1880. A monograph regarding Carvajal's relations with Hungary, based on authoritative documents, has been prepared by Fraknói. I take this opportunity of expressing to the honourable Vice-president of the Hungarian Academy my thanks for the assistance which he has rendered me in my studies.

shelve the affairs of Naples.* Philip of Burgundy, who was ill at the time, promised to send Envoys to Rome. As they did not arrive, Pius II. sent Lucas, the Dalmatian, as Nuncio, to hasten them. He was not at first more successful than his predecessor, but the Duke, being again attacked by serious illness, looked upon this as an admonition to fulfil his vow. The moment he recovered he announced himself ready to accomplish it.†

The Pope received these happy tidings on the 2nd July,‡ and at once imparted them to the Italian powers, and invited them to a Congress at Rome. At this moment "he might have cherished the hope of at last seeing the work, to which he had devoted the labour of years, worthily carried out."§ On the 5th of July Bessarion went as

* Pii II. Comment. 221–2 ; Voigt, III., 677 *seq.*

† Voigt, *loc. cit.* ; Bachmann, I., 484 ; Olivier de la Marche, III., 36. Philip's Ambassador, Guillaume Filastre, Bishop of Tournay, subsequently described his change of mind, in the rhetorical style of the day, in his "*Oratio dicta Rome apud S. Petrum in consistorio publico, 1463, viii. die Octobris." Dr. Sauerland, who found this document among the MSS. in a Library in the Rhenish provinces, will publish it in his "Quellen zur Gesch. des 14 und 15 Jahrh." According to the Cab. Hist., 1885, p. 223, this *discourse is also to be found in a MS. in the Archives of Dijon.

‡ See the Letter of commendation addressed to Philip on the 2nd July, 1463, Milan Edit., V., 1487, Epist., 46. The date "Romae" is incorrect, for Pius II. was at the time at Tivoli. In Cod. R. II., 11, of the Seminary Library at Trèves is (f. 178–80) a copy of the Brief with the correct conclusion : "Scriptum [apud urbem] Tiburtinam, &c."

§ Reumont, III., 1, 148. The Brief informing the Florentines of the decision of the Duke of Burgundy, and inviting them to the Congress at Rome, is dated Tivoli, 1463, July 6. There is a Copy in the State Archives at Florence. Pius II. wrote in similar terms to Bologna on the 3rd July ; see Makuscev, I., 309–10. Regarding the power and wealth of the Burgundian Duke, see Chastellain, IV., 360 ; Rauch, 9 ; Müntz, Renaiss., 50 ; Fredericq, 33, 57–8.

Legate to Venice.* The object of his mission was to induce the Signoria formally to declare war against the Turks, to arrange details in regard to the general Crusade, and to settle the dispute between Venice and the Emperor about Trieste.

The Greek Cardinal arrived on the 22nd of July in Venice, and was received almost as if he had been a crowned head, but his negotiations were not rewarded by the immediate success which his zeal for the holy cause had expected.† The Signoria gratefully accepted the Pope's support, and the permission to levy tithes, twentieths and thirtieths in its territory, but made difficulties as to the formal declaration of war, and did not fail to intercede for the rebellious Malatesta. "Most Holy Father," wrote Bessarion, on the 26th July, "I do not understand, and very greatly wonder, why the Venetians make such difficulties about a formal breach with the Turks, for they have already made, and are continuing to make, great preparations by land and sea. This is now done quite openly; whereas, formerly, the very appearance of preparation was avoided. Therefore I hope that they will soon come to the point."‡ By dint of unremitting exertions he was able, on the 29th of July, to write to Rome announcing that the declaration of war with the Porte had been decided

* Not in August, as VOIGT says (III., 696). See *Acta Consist., f. 31b, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† See Serapeum, II., 93.

‡ **Report of Bessarion to Pius II., dated Venice, 1463, July 26. I found the originals of this and the following letter of the Cardinal in the valuable Codex of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, mentioned at p. 160. On account of their length I must reserve these Reports for publication in my collection of Documents. The other collections of Bessarion's Acts in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Arm., XXXIV., N. 6 and 7; XXXV. T., 134 and 135), contain Decrees, Dispensations, &c., but no Reports of his negotiations.

on the day before.* Yet a full month more passed before the Crusade was publicly preached in Venice, or the levy of the tithes—twentieths and thirtieths, in accordance with the Decree of Mantua—proclaimed for the whole territory of the Republic.†

A part of the Legate's commission was now discharged, but the negotiations regarding the general Crusade presented difficulties of a yet more serious character. The Venetians again put in a plea for Malatesta. Bessarion applied for further Instructions,‡ and the Legate's request for the cessation of the war with Trieste was at first unheeded ; peace was not made until the 14th November, and was but of short duration.§

An offensive alliance entered into in September, 1463, between Venice and Hungary, was a most important event. These two powers, equally threatened as they were by the aggressive policy of Turkey, bound themselves only to lay down their arms by mutual consent. The Venetians were to attack the enemy with a force of forty Galleys, and also to send cavalry and infantry to the Morea and Dalmatia, while the Hungarians were to advance with a strong force on the northern frontier provinces. This compact was communicated to all the other Kings or Princes.‖

* Bessarion's **Report of the 29th July, 1463, to Pius II.; see also the extracts from the Venetian State Archives given by VAST, 270.

† **Letter from Bessarion to Card. Ammanati, dated Venice, 1463, August 28, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Loc. cit.*

§ BACHMANN, I., 530. Regarding Pius II.'s relations with Trieste, see FR. SWIDA in the Archeografo Triestino, N.S. XIV., 1 *seq.*, Trieste, 1888.

‖ The Original of this treaty, dated Peterwardein, 1463, Sept. 12 (published by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 50–1 ; and THEINER, Mon. Hung., II., 380 *seq.*), and written on parchment, is preserved in the State Archives, Venice, Atti Dipl.

Pius II. lost no time in appealing for assistance to Skanderbeg, whose very name was already a terror to the Turks. His harbours and fortresses were advantageously situated for the disembarkation of the Italian troops. The Archbishop of Durazzo was commissioned to call upon the Albanian hero to take part in the contest on which the Western powers were about to enter. He responded by at once commencing hostilities against the Turks, without even waiting to declare war.*

Meanwhile the long-looked for Burgundian mission had reached Tivoli where the Pope was spending the summer. The splendid promises made by its spokesman, the Bishop of Tournay, filled his heart with joy and hope.†

The official reception of the Burgundians took place on the 19th September in a public Consistory in Rome, whither Pius II. had returned a short time previously. The Bishop of Tournay spoke with enthusiasm of the Crusade, and promised that his master would, in the following spring, begin the war in good earnest, and would, if possible, himself join the expedition, or if unable to do this, would send a representative. The Pope warmly commended the Duke's zeal, and spoke of the Congress of Italian Envoys which was to open immediately.‡

* Sismondi, X., 234; Paganel, 315 *seq.* On the day of Pope Pius II.'s death, Skanderbeg gained an important victory over the Infidel.

† Pii II. Comment. 329 *seq.*; Viola, III., 107. See *Card. Gonzaga's Letters of July 1st and Sept. 5th, 1463, from Tivoli (which speak of the offers of the Burgundians). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also the résumé in the long **Despatch of the Milanese Ambassadors of the 16th Nov., 1463. State Archives, Milan.

‡ Chastellain, IV., 458; Pii II. Comment. 331 *seq.* The date here omitted is supplied by a *Letter from Card. Gonzaga to his father, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 19: "Questa matina facendose consistorio publico per audir li ambasciatori de Bergogna, quali hanno fatto le offerte come

The political condition of Christendom seemed at this time to promise well for the Crusade. The contest for the throne of Naples was at an end, the turbulent Malatesta had been subdued, all Italy was for the moment at peace. "Venice and Hungary, who had already taken up arms, formed a solid coalition, able, without extraneous assistance, to put forth considerable power, and yet happy to accept the co-operation of others. Pius II. hoped in the Congress to recover the direction of the whole scheme, and by the offering of his own person, the last means at his disposal, to regain the leadership of the enterprise."*

The negotiations with the Envoys of the Italian powers opened on the 22nd September.† The Pope informed them of the promises made by the Duke of Burgundy, and enquired what they proposed to do for the defence of the Catholic Faith. The replies of the Neapolitan and Venetian Envoys sounded satisfactory, but that of the Milanese was completely different in its tone. The import of their many words was merely that they had not sufficient powers, and must communicate with the authorities at home. The Florentines adopted the same line, but their reply was even less encouraging, for they insisted on the

altra fiata scrissi a V.S.," and by the *Despatches of B. Marasca to Marquess Lodovico, and the *Letter of J. P. Arrivabenus to Marchioness Barbara, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 19. In the latter occur the following words: "Opinione commune e che N. S. a bon tempo debba ussir de Roma et elezer qualche luoco idoneo a la coadunatione de christiani. Assai se dicto de Udene, ma molti dicono che se venira a Mantua." Similar reports had already been current at the Roman Court; see the **Despatch of B. Marasca, dated Tivoli, 1463, Aug. 30. I found all these Documents in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

* Voigt, III., 686.

† The date in the Comment. Pii II., 333, is incorrect. Bart. Marasca, in his *Despatch of 23rd Sept., 1463, expressly says, the negotiations took place yesterday. Gonzaga Archives.

co-operation of the French King, of whose aversion to the Crusade they were well aware. The Sienese, Bolognese, Lucchese, and Mantuan deputies also declared themselves obliged to consult their respective governments, and receive fresh instructions.

In his answer, Pius II. dealt, in the first place, with the question of the tithes, and referred to the resolutions framed at Mantua, and there approved by all parties, with the exception of the Venetians, who, however, were now full of good-will. Every prince might, he said, collect the money in his own dominions, enlist troops, and prepare ships ; he would not touch it, only provision must be made for seeing to its proper expenditure. With regard to the condition laid down by the Florentines, he maintained that Italy, being the country most immediately threatened, ought to be the one to begin the Crusade. The Envoys, however, stood firm, and declared themselves unable to enter into any engagement until they had received further powers from their governments; the Venetian Envoys alone formed an honourable exception to this line of conduct.*

As time went on the duplicity of the Florentines became more and more apparent, and they proved the most cunning and obstinate opponents of the Crusade. Their conduct was prompted by their jealousy of the projects of political aggrandisement in Italy cherished by the Republic of St. Mark, and the rivalry between the two powers for the possession of the trade of the Levant. "The secret hope of the Florentines was that Venice would exhaust herself in

* Pii II. Comment. 333–4, and the more detailed **Report of A. de Rubeis and O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 24, which has unfortunately been much injured by damp. State Archives, Milan (wrongly placed in P. E., 1461). See also the *Letter of B. Marasca, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 23. The Pope, he says, spoke "elegantemente more solito." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

single combat with the Turks." Accordingly they were most anxious that the war should not be made the common affair of the West,* and to effect this object their Envoys shrank from no intrigue. In a private audience they represented to the Pope that the war against the Turks was, after all, taken in hand merely for the benefit of the Venetians, who, dreaming themselves the successors of the ancient Romans, and the inheritors of their world-wide dominion, aspired, after the conquest of Greece, to subject Italy to their yoke. Would the Roman Church in such a case be able to retain her independence and dignity? The Venetians and the Turks ought to be left completely to themselves; the result would be a protracted war by which both powers would be weakened to the great advantage of Italy and the Christian world.

Pius II. pronounced such a policy to be short-sighted, ignoble, and unworthy of the Vicar of Christ. The ambition of the Venetians might indeed be excessive, but dependence on Venice was to be preferred to dependence on the Porte. Even though she might be selfishly aiming at the possession of the Peloponnesus, still her discomfiture by the Turks would be a disaster for Christendom. In the present crisis the only thing to be thought of was how the Turks could be repelled, and the liberty of Europe secured. The future must be left to take care of itself. All must

* HEYD-RAYNAUD, II., 339. The delay of Florence, in sending Envoys to Rome, appears from the *Despatches of Nicodemus of Pontremoli, dated Florence, 1463, Aug. 14 and 22. In the Despatch of 24th Sept., 1463, mentioned in the note on preceding page, Florence is said to be "in tutto aliena de questa impresa." All these Reports are in the State Archives at Milan. An invitation to Florence was issued on the 6th July, 1463; at the beginning of September no Envoy had yet arrived, and accordingly, on the 1st of that month, in a *Brief dated from Tivoli, Pius II. begged that one might be sent as quickly as possible. Copy in the State Archives, Florence.

unite, with his assistance and the support of the Duke of Burgundy, the King of Hungary, and the enemies of Turkey in Asia, to attack and vanquish the common foe. In order to make it plain to the Florentines that the conquered territories would not all become the property of Venice, the Pope unfolded a plan for the partition of Turkey. This is the first of many similar projects. The Venetians were to have the Peloponnesus, Bœotia, Attica, and the cities on the coast of Epirus ; Skanderbeg was to receive Macedonia. Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and all the country as far as the Black Sea, were to belong to Hungary ; while other portions of the Byzantine Empire were to fall to the share of various distinguished Greeks. The Envoys also laid great stress on the difficulty that there would be in getting money from the Florentines.*

On the following day (23rd September) the Pope in a Secret Consistory laid his scheme before the assembled College of Cardinals. In a long and earnest address, in the course of which he even shed tears, he strove to meet all objections to the undertaking. Peace being restored in Italy, it was now possible, he said, to take up arms against the Turks, and this ought to be done without delay. Now was the time to prove whether the Cardinals' zeal for the Faith had been merely a pretence, or whether they would follow the Pope. He meant to equip as large a fleet as the resources of the Church would permit ; and, feeble and old as he was, to take ship himself and proceed

* Pii II. Comment. 334 *seq.* ; Zinkeisen, II., 282 *seq.* Similar representations to those made to the Pope were made by the Florentine Envoys to the representatives of Milan ; see their **Despatch of the 24th Sept., 1463, cited *supra*, p. 322. (State Archives, Milan.) The *Letter of A. de Rubeis and Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 10, shews that the Florentine Envoy obstinately persisted in his opposition to the Crusade. Ambrosian Library, Milan.

to Greece and Asia. "It will be said, of course, 'what has this sickly old man, this priest, to do with the war? What business have Cardinals and officials of the Roman Court in the Camp? Why do they not stay at home and send a fleet with troops accustomed to fight?' Whatever we do people take it ill. They say that we live for pleasure, accumulate wealth, bear ourselves arrogantly, ride on fat mules and handsome palfreys, trail the fringes of our cloaks after us, and show round plump faces beneath the red hat and the white hood, keep hounds for the chase, spend much on actors and parasites, and nothing in defence of the Faith. And there is some truth in their words: many among the Cardinals and other officials of our Court do lead this kind of life.* If the truth be confessed, the luxury and pomp at our Court is too great. And this is why we are so detested by the people that they will not listen to us, even when what we say is just and reasonable. What do you think is to be done in such a shameful state of things? Must we not take some steps to regain the confidence which we have lost? You will ask what steps? Truly none that we find ready in these days: we must enter upon new paths, we must enquire by what means our predecessors won for the Church the authority and consideration that she has. These means we also must employ. Her authority must be maintained by the same means which originally served to acquire it. Temperance, chastity, innocence, zeal for the Faith, ardour in the cause of religion, contempt of death, and the desire for martyrdom, have exalted the Roman Church, and made her mistress of the world. She cannot maintain her position unless we follow in the footsteps of those who created it. It is not enough

* Evidently an allusion to Cardinal Borgia. We have already mentioned the letter of admonition which Pius II. addressed to this Cardinal in the year 1460, see Vol. II., 452 *seq.* of this work.

to profess the Faith, to preach to the people, to denounce crime, and extol virtue. We must make ourselves like those who offered their lives for the heritage of the Lord. We must suffer all things for the flock entrusted to our care, even unto death. The Turks are devastating one Christian country after another. What shall we do? Send troops against them? There is no money to arm them. Shall we exhort the Princes to go forth and drive the enemy out of our borders? That course has already been tried in vain, without success.

"Our cry, Go forth! has resounded in vain. Perhaps, if the word is, Come with me! it will have more effect. This is why we have determined to proceed in person against the Turks, and by word and deed to stir up all Christian Princes to follow our example. It may be that, seeing their Teacher and Father, the Bishop of Rome, the Vicar of Christ, a weak and sickly old man, going to the war, they will be ashamed to stay at home. Should this effort also fail, we know of no other means to try. We are well aware that at our age we are going to meet an almost certain death. But let us leave all to God, His holy will be done! Nevertheless, we are too weak to fight sword in hand, and this is not the priest's office. But we will imitate Moses, who prayed upon a height while the people of Israel were doing battle with the Amalekites. On the prow of a ship, or on the summit of a mountain, we will beseech our Lord, whose Holy Body will ever be with us to grant us deliverance and victory."

The Pope concluded by calling upon the Cardinals to follow him ; only the aged and infirm were to remain at home, with one Legate for ecclesiastical and another for secular affairs, the latter of whom was to be supported by a force of 5000 men, under the command of Antonio

Piccolomini. "Thus we commend our grey hair and feeble body to the mercy of God. He will care for us, and, if He does not permit us to return, He will receive us into Heaven, and will preserve the See of Rome, and His Bride the Church, unharmed." *

In spite of these stirring words, the French party in the Sacred College protested against the Pope's plan. Men like d'Estouteville or Jouffroy were utterly incapable of understanding Pius II.'s resolve to imitate the martyr-popes of old. The majority of the Cardinals, however, agreed with him. Carvajal, old as he was, exclaimed with enthusiasm: "It is the voice of an angel. I follow, for it is to heaven that you are leading us." †

During the ensuing weeks the Pope was fully occupied with the details of the enterprise. A commission of Cardinals was appointed to carry on the preparations in the States of the Church,‡ and consultations with the Envoys, regarding the Burgundian proposals, took place almost daily.§ The difficulties of the expedition were clearly perceived by Pius II., who studied day and night how to overcome them, and the reproaches and objections of the French King, who again threatened Christendom with a Council, only served to inflame his zeal.‖

* MANSI, Orat., II., 168–79; VOIGT, III., 687 *seq.*; MENZEL, VIII., 31 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, II., 285.

† PII II. Comment. 341; CUGNONI, 229–30; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 200, 3rd ed.

‡ **Report of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 1. State Archives, Milan.

§ See the Despatches of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1463, Sept. 26 and Oct. 3. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ See the **Report of the Milanese Envoys of 1st Oct., 1463 (State Archives, Milan), and a **Letter from the same, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 10, quoted in above note ‡. In this Letter are the following words: "Signore, la Sua S^ta^ ha l'animo molto ardente a questa impresa."

On the 6th October, in an assembly composed of the Cardinals and Envoys, the Pope laid down the following regulations in regard to the Crusade:—The war, he said, is to be undertaken in the name of God, and under the banner of the Holy Cross. A supreme leader is to be chosen on behalf of the Church, and is to be obeyed by the others. The spoils are to be divided according to the service rendered by each. As the Duke of Burgundy will set forth next May, every one is to be ready at that time, and furnished with provisions for a year. In order to avoid differences, a monetary exchange was to be established. All the Envoys, with the exception of the representative of Venice, agreed to these arrangements. He, however, objected to the disposition of the spoils, and to fighting under the banner of the Church. Before the Assembly broke up the Pope asked those present whether any answer regarding the tax of the thirtieth had been received from their governments. Only Lucca and Bologna replied in the affirmative, the others hoped to receive a reply by the next despatch.*

The negotiations were extremely protracted. The Florentines made more excuses than any of the other powers; Pius II. perceived very clearly that they meant to

(Ambrosian Library.) The Sienese Envoy, L. Benvoglienti, also wrote on the 7th Oct., 1463: "*El santissimo padre ad questa sancta et gloriosa impresa ci viene molto animoso et volenteroso . . . et se per se medesmo el potesse fare non richiedarebbe altro aiuto ne di genti ne di denari." State Archives, Siena.

* See the **Letter of Giacomo d'Arezzo of the 10th Oct., 1463 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the **Despatch of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 7. (State Archives, Siena.) The **Report of the Milanese Envoys of 1st Oct., 1463, mentions the opposition of the Venetians, who would not accept the decision regarding the spoils, nor "quello capitolo quod omnes debeant militare sub vexilo ecclesie." State Archives, Milan.

do as they had already done at Mantua.* Milan, too, shewed but little zeal.† The Pope was greatly pained by the conduct of his native city, "for which he had done and suffered so much."‡ As long as it was possible they deferred giving any decided answer. Notwithstanding repeated and urgent remonstrances from the Pope, November had arrived, and still no instructions had been received by the Sienese Envoy. On the 5th of that month he informed his government that others besides the Pope were astonished at their conduct. On the 12th, he again wrote, adding that Pius II. was extremely indignant that they who ought to have been first were the last in this matter. After endless negotiations they finally made up their minds to pay 10,000 ducats, excusing themselves from a larger contribution on the plea of poverty.§

Meanwhile the Commission of Cardinals were taking strenuous measures to collect the necessary funds. Tithes, twentieths, and thirtieths were to be levied throughout all the States of the Church; all superfluous ornaments, chalices, &c., were to be sold, and a contribution was to be laid upon all convents without exception. The Crusade was to be

* See the **Despatches of O. de Carretto and Aug. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 10 and 19 (Ambrosian Library, *loc. cit.*). The **Letters of the Florentine government to their Roman Envoys, dated 1463, Oct. 1, 6, 15, 17, 24, and Nov. 5, 12, 19, manifests their strong dislike to the Crusade.

† **Report of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 16. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See VOIGT, III., 691. The Sienese Envoy was expressly charged to enter into no "promissione, obligatione o vero conclusione;" see **Nota substant. al sp. L. Benevolenti, dated 1463, Sept. 12. State Archives, Siena, Instr., VIII.

§ PII II. Comment. 342. See the **Despatches of 'L. Benevolti,' dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 9, Nov. 5, 12, 23. State Archives, Siena, Conc.

published throughout the world, and all Indulgences, but those granted on its behalf, were to be suspended.*

On the 19th October, 1463, the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy entered into an alliance with Venice, by which each of the contracting parties undertook to prosecute the war against the Turks, with all the resources they had, from a period of from one to three years, and only to conclude peace by common consent. Pius II. also promised that when the Duke of Burgundy came to Italy he would himself set out with him.†

It was evident that if other distinguished princes could also be induced personally to take part in the Crusade, as their forefathers had done in the happier days of faith, its importance would be greatly enhanced. Pius II. did his best to win such adherents to the cause. In the first instance he applied to his friend and ally, the Duke of Milan, and afterwards to the Kings of Castile and Portugal.‡

Francesco Sforza gave an evasive answer, to the bitter disappointment of the Pope, who had hoped to be able to announce the co-operation of this powerful Prince in the Bull which was to make the Crusade known to the whole

* *Letter of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 6. Ambrosian Library.

† Conventio celebrata Rome sumende expeditionis contra Mahometh Turcum christ. religionis hostem inter B^m in Christo patrem et D. D. Pium II., S. Pontif., ill. principem Philippum ducem Burgundie et ill. D. Christoph. Mauro ducem et inclytum dom. Venet., State Archives, Venice, Commem. XV., f. 91b–93. The Treaty begins: In nomine Dom. Cum S. in Christo pater . . . Pius II., considerans persecutiones et mala, &c. The principal parts are given by VAST, 270, where, instead of "S. D. vir Pius II.," should be read: S. D. noster. See also **Cardiual Gonzaga's letter of the 17th Oct., 1463. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Epist., 47–9, ed. Mediolan.

of Christendom.* This Bull had already been approved in a Secret Consistory on the 5th October; and to delay its publication was scarcely possible, for the Burgundian Envoys were anxious to depart, and a pestilence had broken out in Rome.†

Accordingly, in the evening of the 21st of October, the Pope summoned the Cardinals and the Italian Envoys to his palace, and called upon them solemnly to bind themselves to carry out the Decree of Mantua on the contributions for the war. All present, first the Envoys of the King of Naples, then those from Milan, Modena, Mantua, Bologna, and Lucca, consented. Details as to the time and the manner of collecting the funds were not discussed. The Florentine and Sienese Envoys were not present at this meeting, not having yet received instructions from their governments. Genoa, Savoy, and Montferrat were not even represented at the Congress!‡

On the morning of the following day, Saturday, the 22nd October, a Public Consistory was held in presence of the whole Court and of all the Envoys. Goro Lolli read the Bull of the Crusade in which the Pope solemnly announced that he and the Duke of Burgundy would take part in the Holy War. Immense spiritual favours were promised to

* **Report of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 19. Ambrosian Library.

† Besides the Report cited in preceding note, see a *Despatch from the same Ambassadors of 6th Oct., 1463 (Ambrosian Library), and a *Letter from them both, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 21, in the State Archives, Milan. The first outbreak of the Plague is mentioned by L. Benvoglienti in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 7. State Archives, Siena.

‡ See the **Letter of the Milanese Envoys of 21st Oct., 1463 (Ambrosian Library). Also a second *Despatch of the same Envoys, written on the same day, now in the State Archives of Milan; where there is also a *Copy of the Deed by which Milan undertook to carry out the Taxation Decree of Mantua.

all who should support it. Those who should personally join the expedition, and remain in the field for at least six months, as well as those who should give money according to their power, were to gain a Plenary Indulgence. High and low were called upon in impassioned words to come and join the expedition. "O stony-hearted and thankless Christians! who can hear of all these things, and yet not wish to die for Him Who died for you. Think of your hapless brethren groaning in captivity amongst the Turks, or living in daily dread of it. As you are men, let humanity prompt you to help those who have to endure every sort of humiliation. As you are Christians, obey the Gospel precept which bids you love your neighbour as yourself. Think of the miseries inflicted on the faithful by the Turks. Sons are torn from their fathers, children from their mother's arms, wives are dishonoured before the eyes of their husbands, youths are yoked to the plough like cattle. Take pity on your brethren, or, in any case, take pity on yourselves; for the like fate is hanging over you, and if you will not assist those who live between you and the enemy, those who live further away will forsake you also when your turn comes. You Germans who will not help the Hungarians, how can you expect assistance from the French—and you Frenchmen how can you count upon the aid of the Spaniards if you do nothing for the Germans? With what measure you mete the same shall be measured to you again! The ruin of the Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond, of the Kings of Bosnia and Rascia, and other princes who have been overpowered, one after another, proves how disastrous it is to stand still and do nothing. As soon as Mahomet has subdued the East, he will quickly master the West." *

* Æn. Sylv. Opp., 914–23; Raynaldus, ad an. 1463, N. 29–40; and Vigna, II., 1, 189–204, 169; Menzel, VIII., 32; Heinemann, 26;

Two full hours were devoted to the reading of the Bull: the Pope then announced, for the satisfaction of the Romans, who were extremely averse to his departure, that he would appoint a spiritual as well as a secular Legate, and would confer on him ample powers during the time of his absence. Further, the Chancery, the Apostolic Treasury, the Rota, and the Grand Penitentiary would remain in Rome, so that the faithful might suffer no inconvenience from his absence.

Many people up to this time had looked upon the whole affair as an impracticable dream, but the publication of the Bull produced a great change of feeling. A general opinion began to gain ground that if the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy were spared, the enterprise might be both successful and glorious. The Milanese Envoys concluded their report with the words: "May God, whose cause is at stake, grant long life to the Pope and the Duke." *

In this Bull Pius II. took his stand as head of the Christian Religion, and protector of humanity, liberty, and civilisation. It was at once promulgated in all directions. Nuncios, Collectors, and preachers of the Crusade were also appointed, not only for the whole of Italy, but for most of the other States of Europe.† All Europe resounded

VOIGT, III., 692; JANSSEN, I., 522 *seq.* (13th and 14th ed.). ZINKEISEN, II., 286, is wrong in giving the 19th October, and HAGENBACH, 33, in mentioning the 11th November, as the date of the Bull. Regarding the publication of the Bull, which was at once printed at Mayence by Fust and Schöffer (there is a copy in the Court Library at Aschaffenburg), see the *Report of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 23. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* *Letter of Aug. de Rubeis and O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 25. Ambrosian Library.

† PII II. Comment. 1, XIII.; in VOIGT, II., 360, see III., 704 *seq.* Numerous appointments of Collectors are recorded in *Regest. 519.

with the cry of the Holy War. The Minorites were foremost in this work, while the Nuncios were indefatigable in calling on the people to render assistance, and in urging their rulers to support the cause.* Their success fell far short of what had been hoped. Those in high places had lost the enthusiasm "which in the Middle Ages had drawn the Christian world to flock to the scenes where our Saviour had lived and shed His Blood." Scarcely a trace remained of the "chivalrous spirit which made men willing to devote their lives to the rescue of the Holy Places out of the hands of the Infidels."† Only the middle and lower classes responded, and this chiefly in Germany. In many parts there, the excitement was so great that, as the Hamburg Chronicle tells us, "the people forsook their waggons and ploughs to hasten to Rome to take arms against the Turks."‡

During the later months of the year 1463, Pius II. had to carry on wearisome negotiations with the Florentine, Mantuan, and Sienese Envoys, in order to obtain some assistance from the States they represented.§ The Plague was raging in Rome, many of the Cardinals fled, but the Pope, although suffering much from gout, remained, and sought by every means in his power to promote the great

(Secret Archives of the Vatican.) See in Appendix N., 60 and 61, the extracts from Cod. 33 of the Cathedral Library, Trèves.

* BACHMANN, I., 496 *seq.* An account of the preaching of the Crusade in Flanders is given by KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, V., 80; N. DELLA TUCCIA and the Diario Nepesino, 137, speak of it in Italy. For further information regarding the Minorites, see WADDING, XIII., 343 *seq.*

† HEINEMANN, 27.

‡ Hamburg. Chroniken, 257; JANSSEN, I.,523, note 2 (13th and 14th ed.). See also Städtechroniken, XIV., 810, and *infra*, p. 352 *seq.*

§ The perpetual delays often incensed the Pope. See the *Letter of Card. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 23, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

cause he had at heart.* He promised to fit out three Triremes and several transports at his own expense, seven of the Cardinals undertook each to provide a Galley, and the others gave hope of further assistance. Among the Italian powers, Borso d'Este, Lodovico of Mantua, and the Republics of Bologna and Siena, engaged themselves to furnish two triremes; Cosmo de' Medici and the Lucchese, each one trireme; and Genoa eight large vessels.† On

* With regard to the Plague, see Card. Gonzaga's letters, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 25 and Nov. 9 (El timor è grande); *Letters from B. Marasca, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 9; and from J. P. Arrivabene, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 25, Nov. 10; all of which are in the Gonzaga Archives. On the 5th Nov., 1463, Carretto and A. de Rubeis wrote: "La peste qui ogni di e majore et e appizata in le principale case de cardinali, de prelati et citadini et molti ne sono fuziti et la S^ta di N. S. ha mandato li duj piu gioveni nepoti a Pienza." State Archives, Milan. Scarampo fled to Florence, and, when the Plague broke out in that city, to Prato. See his *Letter to "Catherina de Ursinis," dated ex Prato, 1463, Dec. 19, complaining of "questa execranda peste," which prevented his return to Rome (Gaetani Archives, Rome). L. Benvoglienti, in a *Letter, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 12, speaks of Pius II. as suffering from the gout. State Archives, Siena.

† Pii II. Comment. in Voigt, II., 364. In a *Despatch of 10th Jan., 1464, the Milanese Envoy gives higher numbers. According to *Sen. Mar. VII., f. 168 (State Archives, Venice), ships were got ready in Venice by Cardinals Bessarion, Barbo, Gonzaga, Scarampo, and d'Estouteville, as also by the Bolognese and Duke Borso. See Sanudo, 1179. From Raynaldus, ad an. 1464, N. 37, we learn that R. Borgia also prepared a Galley. With regard to the Pope's promises, see also a *Letter from O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Oct. 6 (Ambrosian Library). Borso seems on this occasion to have intended honourably to fulfil his engagement: by a *Proclamation issued on the 10th May, 1464, he called upon experienced oarsmen to offer themselves for the war-ships, and undertook to pay them well. I found this Document in Arch. Comm. at Ferrara. On the 26th March, after Pius II. had consented to the levy of the Tithes by the Commune, it was decided that Lucca should send a Trireme; see State Archives, Lucca, Arm. 44, N. 9, f. 159.

the 5th November, 1463, a Decree was published, requiring all the officials of the Roman Court, of whatever degree, to contribute a tenth part of their income for the expenses of the Turkish war.* A tax was at the same time imposed on all who should receive benefices within the ensuing six months,† and it was decided that the property of all Prelates dying during the continuance of the Holy War should be devoted to defraying its expenses.‡

A special Treasurer was now appointed to manage the moneys for the Crusade, and this duty was confided to the care of Niccolo Piccolomini, private Treasurer to the Pope. His Crusade Account Book, bound in red morocco, and bearing on its cover the cross and the arms of Pius II., is still preserved.§ It commences in November, 1463, and is continued until after the death of the Pope. Receipts as well as payments are accurately entered. The charge made by the personal enemies of the Pope, that he had neglected to make due preparations for the Crusade, is here disproved by documentary evidence. Between the 15th November, 1463, and the 10th April, 1464, 27,255 ducats were expended for this purpose. From the be-

* Papal *Mandate of the 31st Oct., 1463, published on the 5th Nov., Barberini Library, XXXV., 94, f. 187.

† *Bull, "Pastor providus," dated Romae, 1463, prid. non., Nov. A° 6°, published on the 5th Nov., in the Codex f. 187b, cited in preceding note.

‡ *Bull, "*Ad exequendam," dated Romae, 1463, iv. Id. Nov. A° 6°, *ibid.*, f. 188b. This Bull is mentioned by J. P. Arrivabene in a *Despatch of the 10th Nov., 1463. Gonzaga Archives.

§ In the State Archives, Rome, the record opens with the words: "*Al nome sia dello omnipotente idio e della sua madre, &c. Questo libro e fatto per tutti li denari che si coglieranno e pageranno per la crociata, il quale libro sara scripto per me Nicolo de Piccoluomo Piccogliuomini cubiculario di N. S. e depositario fatto per la Sua Sta." The account book of the Pope's private coffer, also kept by N. Piccolomini, is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Introitus et Exit. Pii II., N. 458. See GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap.

ginning of the new year the amounts paid out became larger. In January, 5000 ducats were spent on provisions; in February, 4500 for the hire of vessels from Rhodes, and 1000 for the Galleys to be fitted out at Pisa; the same sum occurs again in March; in May it rises to 2500 ducats. In that month no less than 12,639 ducats were disbursed, and by August the sum total amounted to 62,309.*

"The Holy Father," writes the Sienese Envoy on the 12th November, 1463, "is indefatigable in his efforts on behalf of the Crusade. His Bull on the subject has been sent into all Christian countries, and will, I believe, lead many to take part in it. God has indeed sent this Pope for the salvation of His people, whose Princes have forsaken them, and left them a prey to the attacks of the Turks." The Envoy then enumerates all the efforts which Pius II. had made from the beginning of his reign, and the obstacles which he had encountered, and rejoices at the alliance entered into with Burgundy, Venice, and Hungary. "If," he concludes, "the Pope had not taken all these precautions, we should have been worse off now than in the time of the invasion of the Barbarians."†

The Turkish question was at this time the predominant subject in all the Pope's negotiations and interviews with the representatives of foreign powers. In the beginning of November, he said to the Sienese Envoys: "In consequence of the lukewarmness and negligence of Christian Princes, I am constrained to place myself at the head of the Crusade. If we allow the Turks to advance, as they have done of late

* If we add together all the money disbursed up to September, 1464, the result comes to 106,327 ducats since the previous November. Deducting the 40,314 ducats paid to the Doge on the 17th August, and the 1800 and 1904 in September, we arrive at the figures given in the text.

† **Letter of L. Benvoglienti to Siena, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 12. State Archives, Siena.

years, we shall soon all be subjugated. I will do what is in my power; God will help me!"*

The zeal of Pius II., and his anticipations of success, received a fresh impulse from the good tidings which came from Greece. General Bertoldo of Este had commenced operations in July, and all the Greeks and Albanians throughout the Peloponnesus had at once risen in arms. Vostitza and Argos were recovered, and in a fortnight the intrenchments of the Hexamilion were restored. When the Pope was informed of these events by Bernardo Giustiniani, the Venetian Envoy, he immediately summoned a Consistory, and announced the victories in an enthusiastic address.†

By the middle of November the death of the Prince of Tarento had almost brought the war in the Kingdom of Naples to an end; and the main hindrance to the Crusade being thus removed, great hopes for the future were entertained.‡ The expectation that Ferrante I. would himself take part in the expedition proved delusive. The Pope then tried to obtain the 60,000 ducats which his father had left by will for the Turkish war, but only succeeded in inducing Ferrante to send half the amount in the following March.§

On the 25th of October, Pius II. had addressed a stirring

* **Letter of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 5. State Archives, Siena.

† MALIPIERO, 17; SANUDO, 1174; HERTZBERG, Byzantiner und Osmanen, 623; ROMANIN, IV., 315 *seq.* See also the Letter from the State Archives of Siena, cited in preceding note. B. Giustiniani was recalled in the beginning of November, 1463: *Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 199. State Archives, Venice.

‡ See the **Letters of L. Benvoglienti, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 23, 27, Dec. 5. (State Archives, Siena.) For the end of the war, see *supra*, p. 122 *seq.*

§ *Despatches from O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, March 10,

Brief to Cristoforo Moro, the Doge, calling on him to join the Crusade in person.* When the matter came under discussion at Venice, the Doge made difficulties on account of his advanced age, and his want of experience in naval affairs, which made Vittore Capello exclaim: "If your Excellency will not embark of your own free will, we will use force, for we value the welfare and the honour of this country more than your person." The final decision was that the Doge must proceed with the fleet, but four military councillors were given him; and, by his desire, Lorenzo Moro, Duke of Candia, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet.† It was also determined that an attempt should be made on the Sultan's life.‡ Preparations for war were carried on with all possible speed; Ambassadors were sent to France and to Burgundy, and negotiations were begun with Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans.§

and Siena, 22nd March. (State Archives, Milan.) In a *Despatch to Marquess Lodovico of Mantua, dated Florence, 1464, March 2, Ant. Ricavo speaks of the Pope's energetic efforts in this matter. (Gonzaga Archives.) See the *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Jan. 18, *loc. cit.*

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1463, N. 41; SANUDO, 1175–76; MALIPIERO, 18 *seq.* The Brief of the 25th of October to the Doge has lately appeared as a separate publication, from a Manuscript in the Chapter Library, at Verona, by Giuliari: Breve di Pio II. al doge della republ. Veneta, Verona, 1886.

† See MALIPIERO, 21 *seq.*; SANUDO, 1174; and especially **Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 200; and **Maggior Consiglio Deliberaz., Vol. XVIII., Regina, f. 46b–47b. State Archives, Venice.

‡ LAMANSKY, 17.

§ Regarding the preparations, see the *Letter to Pius II., dated 1463, Dec. 4, Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 210; *ibid.*, f. 212–13. Nic. de Canali was sent to France, and M. Donatus to Burgundy, 1463, Dec. 9. (State Archives, Venice.) Concerning the relations with Usunhassan, see BERCHET, Venezia e la Persia, p. 3, 102; also BERCHET, Nuovi docum. e regesti, 36 *seq.*, Venice, 1866.

Good news had, meanwhile, been received from the King of Hungary. At the end of September he had led his army across the Save, and invaded Bosnia, then advanced by forced marches to the very walls of Jaitza. On the 1st October this important city was retaken; the Citadel held out till December. The severe winter and the utter devastation of the country alone hindered the further advance of King Matthias.*

Venice zealously supported the King, in the hope that the Turkish forces, being fully occupied on the Danube and the Save, their action in the South would be hampered. But the power of the Sultan was so great that these anticipations were disappointed. Misfortune after misfortune overtook the Venetians. Bertoldo died of his wounds, the rising in the Peloponnesus subsided, and sickness broke out. The siege of Corinth and of the Hexamilion had to be abandoned, and the arrival of a Turkish army, 80,000 strong, soon reversed almost all the previous success.†

The Venetian disasters were far from unwelcome to the Duke of Burgundy. He gladly took advantage of this opportunity to express his misgivings, and defer his departure for two months. Pius II., however, was not inclined to tolerate his delay. "On three successive days he wrote to the Duke to encourage him, and keep him to his purpose."‡

In Venice, as in Rome, the Duke of Burgundy's change of mind caused much surprise; and it was decided that Marcus Donatus should be sent to remonstrate with him on behalf of the Republic.§ Warlike preparations were pushed

* Zinkeisen, II., 159; Klaič, 441; Huber, III., 210.

† Hertzberg, Griechenland, II., 586 *seq.*

‡ Voigt, III., 698.

§ Marco Donato oratori ad ducem Burgundie, 1464, Febr. 1; Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 227; see XXII., f. 5b, *Letter to the same, written on the 17th March, 1464. State Archives, Venice.

on, and Sigismondo Malatesta was taken into the Venetian Service. The report that negotiations for peace were in progress between Venice and the Porte was denied by the Envoys of the former power.*

When the Pope declared that he would proceed without the Duke of Burgundy, Venice also resolved not to be deterred by his defection.†

From the month of September the personal co-operation of the Duke of Milan had been under discussion. Notwithstanding the evasive answer given by Francesco Sforza,‡ the Pope made repeated efforts to win him to the cause. The position of the Milanese Envoys was at this time a difficult one. Francesco Sforza blamed them for not having kept him sufficiently informed of all that passed at the Roman Court, and especially of the Pope's alliance with Venice; and they, in a long letter, endeavoured to shew that his reproaches were undeserved.§ On the other hand, they were obliged continually to find excuses to make to the Pope for their master's failure to take part in the Crusade.‖ From the correspondence of this period we learn that many in Rome were of opinion that the only object of the Doge of Venice, in promising to join in

* *L. Fuscareno oratori ad S. Pontif., 1464, March 23; Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 7b. (State Archives, Venice.) Regarding S. Malatesta, see SATHAS, Doc. I., 242 *seq.*

† **Oratori nostro ad S. Pontificem, 1464, die xxiii., Martii; Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 8b. State Archives, Venice.

‡ Printed in ÆN. SYLV. Opp., 865 *seq.* See also the *Instruction to Otto de Carretto, dated Milan, 1463, Oct. 24. A copy is in the State Archives, Milan.

§ **Letter of O. de Carretto and A. de Rubeis, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 16. The original, unfortunately much damaged, is in the State Archives, Milan.

‖ See especially the *Report of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 18. State Archives, Milan.

the war, had been to exclude the Duke of Milan.* In December, 1463, the Pope endeavoured to induce Francesco Sforza at least to undertake to appear in person later on, and the Envoys deemed it advisable not to destroy all such hopes, although they well knew that their master had no intention of the sort.† For a long time the preaching of the Crusade was forbidden in the Milanese dominions on the pretext of the Plague.‡ When Francesco Sforza, after continued pressure on the part of the Pope, at last promised to send 3000 men under the command of his son, the promise was not made in good faith. Later on, it was discovered that he had even "been working at the French Court to dissuade the Duke of Burgundy from the expedition."§

The Duke of Milan was at this time occupied with very different matters from the defence of Christendom. "While Venice was most deeply involved in the Eastern war, and was compelled after her reverses to send fresh forces to the scene of action, Sforza seized the opportunity to try to gain Genoa and Savona over to his side. The naval supremacy of Venice would be seriously threatened by an alliance between a great Italian power and these important maritime cities."‖ The negotiations were brought

* *Letter of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1463, Nov. 20. State Archives, Milan.

† Report of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Dec. 10. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See the *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated ex urbe die, xxv. Jan., 1464. The collection of tithes in the Milanese territory was not permitted until March ; see the *Despatch of Paganinus, dated Senis, 5 Martii, 1464. Both these documents are in the Ambrosian Library.

§ MALIPIERO, 27; VOIGT, III., 702; GINGINS, Dép. des amb. Mil., I., p. 7. Regarding Sforza's promises, see SIMONETA, 764, and the *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1463, Dec. 22. State Archives, Milan.

‖ VOIGT, *loc. cit.*; see BUSER, Beziehungen, 115 *seq.*

to a successful conclusion on the 22nd December, 1463. In the beginning of February the news reached Rome, the Pope having, up to that time, been entirely ignorant of what was going on. At the Papal Court Sforza was believed to have promised that the French King should be made Emperor. Pius II. declared to the Milanese Envoy that he would suffer martyrdom rather than permit such a thing to take place.*

These proceedings in Upper Italy not only dealt a heavy blow to Venice, but seriously hindered the war against the Turks. The Republic of Genoa had promised to furnish eight large transports which were urgently required; there was now no hope that these would be forthcoming.†

The disinclination of Florence for the Turkish war was much more openly expressed. The Milanese Envoy, writing on the 11th June, 1463, says: "It is here considered a misfortune that the Turks have conquered Bosnia; but it is not considered to be amiss that the Venetians should have met with a repulse."‡ The opposition of the Florentines to the Crusade was very evident in the instructions given to their Envoy at Rome. The proposals which he was empowered to make were thoroughly unsatisfactory; § and when the grant of troops and money could no longer in honour be delayed,

* *Despatch of O. de Carretto of the 3rd Febr., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) On the *17th June, 1464, Carretto writes: "many at the Roman Court are of opinion that Louis XI. has promised, in return for the support given to his projects for obtaining the Empire, to make the Duke of Milan King of Italy." State Archives, Milan.

† Pii II. Comment., lib. XIII.; Voigt, II., 369, and III., 702.

‡ Buser, Beziehungen, 113. Cosmo, in his private capacity, undertook the arming of a Galley (Voigt, III., 703); it is, however, certain that he did not intend to have anything to do with the Holy War.

§ *Commissio dom. Ottonis oratoris ad S. Pontif. delib. die x. Dec., 1463, X.-1-53, f. 120b-121. State Archives, Florence.

it was made as small a one as possible.* Hatred of Venice was so deeply rooted in the City that the tidings of disaster which came from Greece were joyfully welcomed.† A Florentine chronicler even declares that his countrymen handed over to the Sultan intercepted letters from the Venetians, explaining the plans of the Signoria.‡

The evident disinclination to forward his undertaking among even most of those nearest to him, was very discouraging to the Pope. In the States of the Church the collection of money for the Crusade was opposed by the laity as well as the Clergy. Pius II. was constrained formally to impose contributions, and to insist on their payment. "The spirit of cheerful sacrifice on which he had reckoned was quite wanting. In Corneto, for instance, when he ordered ship biscuits to be prepared, he heard that the Commune meant to levy a mill-tax on the flour employed." Threats of an Interdict were required to make the wealthy city of Perugia do her part.§ The Bolognese had made the fairest promises; they were only required to provide two Galleys, but even this demand was thought excessive. The Cardinals were very slow in getting their Galleys fitted out. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that no decisive measures could be contemplated for the moment.‖

* See the complaints of Pius II. in his *Brief to Fr. Sforza, dated Petriolo, 1464, April 23 (Ambrosian Library), *"Qui sono molto pigri a provedere a danari della XXX^ma." A. Acciaiuoli writes to his son James, on the 16th June, 1464, from Florence. C. Strozz., 138, f. 28. State Archives, Florence.

† Nicodemus to Fr. Sforza, dated Florence, 1464, June 13. State Archives, Milan.

‡ HAMMER, II., 550.

§ VOIGT, III., 711 *seq.*; WADDING, XIII., 267 *seq.*; PERUZZI, 261.

‖ CHASTELLAIN, V., 49. Concerning Bologna, see the **Brief of 1st Febr., 1464, addressed to that City. State Archives, Bologna.

The most bitter of his many disappointments was yet in store for Pius II.: the Duke of Burgundy broke the vow by which he had bound himself to take part in the Crusade. The party of the Lords of Croix, who were opposed to the war, met with but little resistance from Philip, who was thoroughly enervated by his excesses.* In February, 1464, they brought about a meeting between him and the French King. The latter forbade the Duke, who was his vassal, to go to the war, alleging as a reason that the Pope's enterprise would only be to the advantage of the Greeks and the Venetians, and was not for the welfare of Christendom.† Philip now thought he had before him a way of breaking his vow and the treaty without disgrace.‡ On the 8th of March he caused his States to be informed that, at the command of the French King, he had been obliged to defer his Expedition for a year. His illegitimate son, Antoine, might, in the meantime, set out with 3000 men. Well-informed persons at once asserted that this offer of assistance would come to nothing. The event proved them to be in the right.§

Pius II. was at this time at Siena, whence, by the urgent advice of his physicians, he meant to proceed to the Baths

* **Report of A. Malleta, dated Carnot, 1464, April 29, Cod., 1611 of the Fonds Ital. National Library, Paris. Regarding the profligate life of the Duke, see also FRÉDERICQ, 19, 84.

† **Report of A. Malleta, dated Carnot, 1464, April 27. See also the **Letter of the same Envoy, dated Paris, 1464, March 11, *loc. cit.* In reference to the efforts made by Louis XI. to hinder the Duke of Burgundy from taking part in the Crusade, see also the notice from the Archives, given by KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE in his edition of the Chronicle of Chastellain, IV., 461; and Mém. de J. DU CLERCQ, V., c. 8.

‡ VOIGT, III., 707, 709.

§ **Report of Malleta of the 27th April, 1464, *loc. cit.*; and **Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, April 12. (Ambrosian Library.) VOIGT, III., 711; OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, III., 35 *seq.*

of Petriolo.* He was so ill that he had not been able to hold a single Consistory, and was harassed with anxiety lest the complications at Genoa should render the Crusade impossible.† From beyond the Alps the tidings which reached him were by no means cheering. King René had set his face against the Collection of contributions from the clergy in his dominions, and had also appealed to a Council.‡ But the thing which most of all distressed the sick Pontiff was the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy. At first a change of purpose on the part of Philip had appeared to Pius II. hardly credible; once more he reminded him of "his public and irrevocable vow, and appealed to his honour." The Bull of Maundy Thursday threatened all Kings who should put hindrances in the way of the Crusade with Excommunication. This was aimed at the author of the Duke's defection. Philip's letter to the Pope, received on the following day, made doubt no longer possible, and Pius II. declared that its receipt coincided well with Passiontide.§

* The Pope had left Rome on the 6th February, 1464 (not as VOIGT, III., 570, states on the 4th): see PAOLO DELLO MASTRO, Cron. Rom., 29; N. DELLA TUCCIA, 89; *Despatch of O. de Carretto of the 6th Febr., 1464, State Archives, Milan; and *Acta Consist. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican. He arrived at Siena on the 21st February. (*Letter from Paganinus, dated Siena, 1464, Febr. 25, State Archives, Milan. "La S^ta^ di N. S. introe in questa cita a 21 del presente." The reading of the transcript of the 13th Book of the Comment., in the Corsini Library, which VOIGT, II., 373, rejects, is the correct one.) Regarding Petriolo, where Pius had sought relief from the gout in 1460 and 1462, see REUMONT, III., 1, 392, and the well-known work of PORTIOLI.

† Besides *Paganinus' letter of the 25th Febr., 1464, quoted in preceding note, see his *Despatch, dated Siena, 1464, March 5. State Archives, Milan.

‡ LECOY DE LA MARCHE, I., 541.

§ VOIGT, III., 710. See *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Siena, 1464, March 27. State Archives, Milan.

At Easter he heard that the King of Hungary had received the consecrated sword with enthusiasm, but this brief joy was soon mingled with gall. Disastrous news came from the Morea ; preparations at Venice were arrested by an outbreak of pestilence;* and, furthermore, a Turkish Envoy was reported to be on his way to that City with a view to negotiations for peace.†

"It might have been thought that the failure of so many efforts, and the disappointment of so many hopes, would have been enough to cool the zeal of the most ardent soul, and to wear out the patience of the most constant mind. But it was not so with Pius II. As difficulties multiplied, his unwearied diligence kept pace with them, and in proportion to the disregard of his exhortations, his voice grew louder, and its tones more penetrating."‡ On the 4th April, 1464, he went with much reluctance to the Baths of Petriolo. So greatly did he long to reach Ancona, that, as the Mantuan Envoy repeatedly declares, every day seemed to him almost as long as a year.§ His indignation with the Burgundians was intensified when the news arrived, on trustworthy authority, that no reliance was to be placed

* See the *Despatches of G. de Collis, dated Venice, 1464, April 2 and 7. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

† "*Qui si fa gran murmuratione come a Venecia deve venire uno ambasciator del Turcho." The Venetian Envoy declared that he would not be admitted to an audience. *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated ex Petriolo, 1464, April 18. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

‡ HEINEMANN, 24.

§ "*La S. d. N. S. hiermatina a hor. XV. parti da Siena (see *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican) ; ando a bagni (of Petriolo, where the Abbot of Einsiedeln went in quest of him ; see HARTMANN, Annal. Heremi. Friburgi, 1612, p. 424 *seq.*) gli par ogni di uno anno esser in Ancona." *Letter of Ant. Ricavo to Marquess Lodovico of Mantua, dated Florence, 1464, April 5. On the 10th April, 1464, Ricavo again writes : *"Ogni di gli par uno anno esser in Ancona per esser a la vela." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

even on the Bastard's expedition.* The part played by the crafty Louis XI. in these affairs so incensed the Pope that at the end of April he spoke of Excommunicating him.†

Many of the Cardinals, especially those of French nationality, were of opinion that as Duke Philip was not coming, the Pope would be fully justified in staying at home.‡ Pius II., however, would not listen to this for a moment. Even those Envoys, who were averse to the undertaking, in their reports bear witness that the Pope was determined in any case to keep his promise, and go in person to Ancona, there to await his Galleys and the Venetian fleet, and then to proceed to Ragusa, where he hoped to join the King of Hungary and Skanderbeg.§

In the face of suspicions expressed at the time, and subsequently reiterated, it is important to observe that the Milanese Envoy was so thoroughly persuaded of the sincerity of Pius II. that he asked leave to settle his domestic affairs before entering on this long journey.‖ Indeed, after he had so solemnly announced his intention to the world, it would have been impossible, even if he had

* **Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Siena, 1464, April 4. (State Archives, Milan.) See his *Letter, dated Rome, 1464, April 12. Ambrosian Library.

† *Despatch of O. de Carretto ex Petriolo, 28th April, 1464. Regarding the hypocritical assurances given by Louis XI., see the *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Febr. 8. Both documents are in the State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Siena, 1464, March 27. (State Archives, Milan.) See Pii II. Comment., lib. XIII.; Voigt, II., 375.

§ *See O. de Carretto's despatches, dated Siena, 1464, March 27, April 4, May 2 and 3. State Archives, Milan.

‖ *O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Siena, 1464, May 3. Carretto adds that, after his request has been granted, he is ready to proceed to Turkey with the Pope, should such be the Duke's desire. State Archives, Milan.

wished it, for the Pope to draw back. On the 4th May Cardinal Forteguerri was appointed Legate of the Fleet. A few days later, he, with the Pope's nephew, Giacomo, went to Pisa to superintend the equipment of the Galleys; while on the 7th of May, Pius II. himself left Siena for Rome, where he arrived on the 19th.*

The agitation in the College of Cardinals, caused by the Pope's project, was extreme.† With the exception of Carvajal, Cusa, and Bessarion, few, if any, of its members were capable of appreciating or seconding the magnanimous resolve of the feeble Pontiff. The idea of following the army into these barbarous Eastern countries was absolutely intolerable to the majority of these ostentatious Princes of the Church. The French Cardinals were particularly opposed to the undertaking. Every possible effort was made to frustrate it. The dangers from the Plague, which was said to have broken out at Ragusa, and from the hostility of the Patarenes in Bosnia, were painted in the darkest colours.‡ The diplomatists joined their

* See O. de Carretto's *Letters, dated Siena, 1464, May 5, May 6; and the *Despatch of an Envoy (probably Caymus), who signs himself Raphael, dated Siena, 1464, May 7. (According to the *Acta Consist., in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, the Pope had reached Siena on the 1st May.) The same Envoy writes from Viterbo on the 15th May: "*to-day the Pope departed;" ex Bracciano, on the 17th May, Carretto reports that the Pope was obliged to keep his bed; on the 20th May follows the announcement from Rome that Pius II. had arrived on Saturday. This accords with the testimony of the *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican. Carretto's letters are in the State Archives, Milan.

† See the statements of O. de Carretto in his *Letter, dated Viterbo, 1464, May 15; a *Despatch from Paganinus, dated Siena, 1464, March 11; and a *Report of Gerardus de Collis, dated Venice, 1464, May 24. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Letter from O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, May 26. See also his *Report from Viterbo of May 15th, 1464. (State Archives, Milan.)

voices with those of the Cardinals, but all was in vain. Pius II. was not to be moved. None but the aged and sick among the Cardinals, and those entrusted with the affairs of government, were to remain in Rome. All the others were to accompany the Pope.* At the end of May he had a fresh attack of gout, accompanied by fever. It was generally considered impossible that he should endure the hardships of the journey. Nevertheless, he declared that he was quite determined to set forth on the promised expedition, even if he were to die by the way.†

A last attempt to detain the Pope was made on the 6th of June by the Duke of Milan's Envoy. He explained that his colleague at the French Court was preparing to mediate between Pius II. and Louis XI., and to persuade the King to give energetic support to the Crusade in the following spring. To secure this it would be necessary for the Pope to defer his expedition till then.

Pius II. understood only too well the real object of this proposition. The King of France had begun by treating him with the greatest insolence, threatening him with a Council, and other vexatious measures. He had also, by keeping back the Duke of Burgundy, done his best to render the Crusade impossible. As threats had proved

Scarampo's disinclination towards the Crusade is mentioned by Ant. Ricavo in a *Despatch to Marquess Lodovico, dated Florence, 1464, April 9. Gonzaga Archives.

* Besides Carretto's letter of the 26th May, cited in preceding note, see his *Despatch, dated Rome, 1464, June 6. (State Archives, Milan.) On the 20th May, Fr. Sforza caused T. de' Lelli, Bishop of Feltre, to represent to the Pope the perils attendant on the Crusade (morte, captivita, vergogna et insidie de falsi christiani, &c.). See *Letter of T. de' Lelli to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, May 28. Ambrosian Library.

† *Despatch of O. de Carretto of the 28th May, 1464, in Appendix, N. 62.

unavailing, he was now trying another way. From former experience the Pope had lost all confidence in the King's promises. "I have no doubt," he said to the Envoy, "that Louis XI. will allow the tithes to be levied, but in the end he will keep them for himself."*

That the Pope did not take an exaggerated view of the case is evident from the Reports of the Milanese Ambassador at the French Court. On the 26th May, writing from Paris, he says that the King is extremely incensed against the Pope, who would not gratify him in regard to the appointments of several Bishops. "The Papal Nuncio," Louis XI. declared, "gives himself unnecessary trouble; go and tell him in my name that I will not consent to the levy of the tithes, and that I have no further communication to make to him." He adds that "the King repeated this twice." In the course of the interview, Louis XI. also spoke of the King of Bohemia's agitation in favour of an anti-Papal Council. Hitherto he had not entered into this movement, but now he was expecting a fresh Mission to treat of this subject.† The representative of Milan expresses his conviction that, "unless something be shortly done to counteract these measures, a great scandal will arise, especially as the Pope will soon leave Rome to proceed against the Turks; I look upon it as certain that a General Council will be attempted."‡

* The above is from a detailed **Report of O. de Carretto to Fr. Sforza, dated Rome, 1464, June 7. State Archives, Milan.

† **Letter of A. Malleta to Fr. Sforza, dated Paris, 1464, May 26, Cod. 1611 of the Fonds Ital., National Library, Paris. The Mission sent to bring about an alliance between France and the Hussites of Bohemia had left Prague on the 16th May. At its head were Marini and Albrecht Kostka of Postupitz, a Bohemian noble. For an account of their fate, see MARKGRAF, in Sybel's Zeitschr., XXI., 297 *seq.* See *supra*, p. 237 *seq.*

‡ "*Signore mio a mi pare che chi non provede presto a queste

Those immediately around the Pope united their remonstrances to those of the Cardinals and Ambassadors, but with no better success. Almost as soon as the fever had left him, Pius II. again declared that he would start on this expedition, even if it should cost him his life.* On the 11th June he appointed Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini his Vicar in Rome and the States of the Church.†

In the meantime the arrival of large bands of Crusaders in Italy was reported. The idea of a Pope leading the Crusade in person was peculiarly calculated to touch the lower classes in distant lands. Thousands from Germany, the Low Countries, France, and even from Scotland and Spain, flocked to Venice, Rome, and Ancona. The people had been greatly stirred by the Pope's appeal: "If the Princes and Nobles had been what they were three centuries earlier, all the West would have been aroused."‡ Those

facende che ne seguira grandissimo scandalo, maxime havendose el papa ad partire da Roma per andare contra el Turco et tengo per certo che costoro darano principio al concilio." Malleta, on the 26th May, *loc. cit.* Regarding the differences between Louis XI. and Pius II., see also *Malleta's letter, dated 1464, May 31, in the MS. already cited. National Library, Paris.

* "*La S^ta^ Sua e in tutto liberata de la febre e dice volere partire fra otto giorni." O. de Carretto, ex palacio apost., xi. Junii, 1464. In a *Despatch, dated Rome, 1464, June 13, the same Envoy writes: "*Sua S^ta^ dice vole andare se dovesse morire e con chi li dice il contrario se scoroza e dice che non hanno consideratione al honore suo e de la fede katolica si che ogniuno crede debi partire lunedi, benche li suoi cerchano de indugiare quanto puono." State Archives, Milan.

† *Regest., 517, f. 6–10: "Franciscus card^lis^ Senen. tit. S. Eustachii in absentia S. D. N. alme urbis et civit. S. Ro. Eccl. subdit. gubernator constituitur. Dat. Rome, 1464, tertio Id. Jun. A° 6°." Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 151; VOIGT, III., 693, 713–4. To these authorities may be added N. DELLA TUCCIA, 269; Diario Nepesino, 140; Cron. Rom., 29; PLATINA, Hist. Mant., 862; CAMPANUS, 989; Cron. di

who came belonged chiefly to the lower ranks of society, and among them were numerous adventurers; many had neither arms nor money. To the Archbishop of Crete was given the double charge of inducing the useless ones to return to their homes, and of providing for those who were fit for war.*

It was also reported that some of the Saxon nobles were on their way with well-armed troops; letters were received in Rome, in which they complained of bad treatment from the Duke of Modena, and expressed their confident hope of finding the Pope at Ancona.†

Ill as he was, Pius II. could no longer be restrained; his friends and physicians might say what they would, the 18th of June was irrevocably fixed for the start.‡ On that day he took the Cross in the Vatican Basilica; commended himself and his cause to the intercession of the Princes of the Apostles; and in a short address, again declared "that it was absolutely necessary that he should set forth himself, in

Bologna, 757; Städtechroniken, VII., 407; Limb. Chronik., 115 (where, instead of 1466, read 1464). From the city of Ghent 300 Crusaders presented themselves, FREDERICQ, 44. See KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Hist. de Flandre, V., 80. More than 2000 men came from Lübeck; see Lübeckische Chroniken, 2, 273–5. *"Vi concurse tanta gente tramontana che fo cosa incredible," says BROGLIO in his *Chronicle, f. 277b, Cod. D. III., 48. Gambalunga Library, Rimini.

* *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, June 6. (State Archives, Milan.) See Script. rer. Siles., IX., 74, 87. Nicolaus de Palude, dat. Pisauri, 1464, Julii 3, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the excesses of the rabble who had followed the Crusaders.

† Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, June 13. State Archives, Milan.

‡ *Letter of Stephanus de Robiis, cancell. Papien., dated Rome, 1464, June 15. (State Archives, Milan.) The condition of the Pope was so serious that the next election was already spoken of in secret. *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dat. Rome, 1464, June 14. Ambrosian Library.

spite of his age and failing strength. Otherwise," he said, "nothing would be done." At Ancona he confidently expected to find not only the Doge but Sforza's two sons, with a splendid band of horsemen and foot soldiers, together with supplies from Siena, from Borso of Modena, and the Marquess of Mantua, from Bologna, Lucca, Ragusa, and Rhodes.*

Immediately after this ceremony Pius II. left the City.† "Farewell, Rome!" he exclaimed with emotion, "never will you see me again alive." The journey to Otricoli was made by water, as being easier to the Pope, who still

* VOIGT, III., 715. The Pope's discourse, omitted in Mansi, is given in the Anecd. Litt., III., 287–96, where a medal struck at the time is also mentioned: Pius II. is seated at the prow of a ship, holding in one hand the banner of the Cross, and with the other giving his blessing, with the motto: "Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici ejus."

† The first half of Pius II.'s journey, and his last days at Ancona, are described by Ammanati, as an eye witness, in a long letter (Epist. card. Pap., f. 22–28, in the Frankf. ed., ep. 41), to Card. Fr. Piccolomini (interfui singulis et usque ad supremum spiritum ab ore suo pependi). This interesting account accords almost literally with that in Ammanati's Commentaries, *loc. cit.*, f. 337b–343, Frankf. ed., 354–6. In both, the 18th of June is given as the day of the Pope's departure from Rome. This day is also mentioned by (1) TUCCIA, 269; (2) *Acta Consist., Secret Archives of the Vatican; (3) *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, Cod. 768, University Library, Bologna; (4) *Despatch of J. de Aretio, dated Florence, 24th June 1464 (Gonzaga Archives); (5) Letter of the Archbishop of Crete, in Script. rer. Siles., IX., 91; (6) Diario Nepesino, 139. The date given by the inaccurate INFESSURA, 1139 (19th June), is erroneously adopted by PALACKY, IV., 2, 213; WEISS, III., 1514, 2nd ed.; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 201, 3rd ed., and HEFELE-HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 149. BACHMANN, I., 502, makes Pius II. leave Rome on the 17th June, and then cites VOIGT, III., 715, where the correct date appears. The *Despatches from the State Archives, Milan, and the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which we shall quote, are valuable authorities regarding the Pope's journey. See also CAMPANUS, 989 *seq.*

suffered from gout and fever. He also slept on board the vessel, as every movement caused him pain, and mental distress was added to his bodily torments. Cardinal Forteguerri, who was supposed to be already on his way to Ancona, appeared on the second day after the Pope's departure from Rome, and reported that the Galleys at Pisa were not yet completely equipped. At the same time it became known that many of the Crusaders, who had started without resources, and with no idea of the difficulties to be encountered, were returning to their homes. To save the Pope as much as possible from such disheartening sights, the curtains of his litter were let down whenever a band of these fugitives passed by.

About 5000 Crusaders were on their way to Rome. Cardinal Cusa was sent to meet them, and the difficult task of keeping the impatient crowds at Ancona in order, and superintending their embarkation, was entrusted to Carvajal. Pius II. implored, rather than commanded, him to undertake it. "I alone," says Ammanati, "was present at the interview. Carvajal responded, as usual, bravely and heartily, 'Holy Father, if I am the man whom you consider most fit for such great things, I will at once obey your orders, and follow your example. Are not you risking your life for me and for your flock? You have written to me to come—here I am; you command me to go—I go. How can I refuse this little end of my life to Christ.'" Accordingly he started immediately for Ancona.*

The weakness of the Pope, and the intense heat, made it necessary to travel very slowly.† At Terni, Cardinals

* Besides this *Report of Ammanati's, see the *Letter from O. de Carretto, dated Spoleto, 1464, June 26. State Archives, Milan.

† "*Non camina piu che sey o sette miglia el giorno," writes Paganinus, on the 2nd July, 1464, from Foligno. State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

d'Estouteville, Borgia, and Eroli joined the Pope's train. At this time a pestilence was raging throughout the neighbouring country, and at Spoleto Cardinal Ammanati fell sick.* In the fortress of that city there was a man from the East who professed to be the exiled brother of the Sultan, and many hopes were built on the help he was expected to give in the attack upon the Turks. In Venice, also, the identity of this precursor of the celebrated Dschem was believed, and he was allowed to join the Pope's company from Spoleto.† On the 3rd of July Assisi was reached, and on the 7th, Fabriano.‡ Here Count

* In consequence of this sickness the Cardinal only reached Ancona on the 25th July ; see *Letter from S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, July 25. (State Archives, Milan.) Also PAULI, 69. Regarding the Plague, see the *Letters of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, July 4 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *O. de Carretto, dated Bologna, 1464, July 4. State Archives, Milan.

† **Letter from Paganinus to O. de Carretto and C. Simoneta, dated Fabriano, 1464, July 10. (State Archives, Milan.) This brother of the Sultan's is said to have been brought first to Venice and then to Calixtus III.; see KNEBEL, II., 33. Then the *fratello del Turco* appears in an account of the 2nd May, 1459, in MÜNTZ, I., 298 ; see also Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 228b : *" 1463 (st. fl.), die x. Febr. Ser. Ludovico Fuscareno doctori nostro ad Summum Pontificem. . . . Sicut videbitis in altera ex copiis litterarum prefati oratoris nostri mentio agitur de fratre Turci, qui dicitur esse in manibus summi pontificis. Propterea sumus contenti et volumus quod postquam summus pontifex intellexerit rem istam, detis honestam operam intelligendi mentem Beat. Sue circa hoc et que sit eius opinio faciendi de fratre dicti Turci et si verum est quod sit factus christianus, nos quamprimum letteris vestris certiores facietis. Nostis enim quod etiam aliter quam armis quandoque victoria parta est." State Archives, Venice.

‡ See the *Despatches of Paganinus, dated Assisi, 1464, July 3 ; Chron. Eugub., 1007 ; ACQUACOTTA, Mem. di Matelica, 148 (Ancona, 1838); and PELLINI, 677. Also the *Letter of G. Lolli, dated Fabriano, 1464, July 8. State Archives, Siena.

Federigo of Urbino met the Pope, and made a fresh attempt to dissuade him from proceeding any further; but Pius II., who was now somewhat better from the change of air, would not listen to him for a moment.*

At Loreto the Pope offered to the Blessed Virgin a golden chalice, bearing the following inscription: "Holy Mother of God, we know that Thy power is without limit, and Thy wonders fill the world; but, as it is Thy will to shew it forth, more especially in certain places, and Thou dost daily sanctify this acceptable spot of Loreto with Thy favours, I, a wretched sinner, turning to Thee with my whole heart, beseech Thee to cure me of this consuming fever and cough, and to restore strength to my failing limbs, in the desire and hope that this may be for the advantage of Christendom. Meanwhile accept this gift as a token of my homage. Pope Pius II., in the year of Salvation, 1464."†

By the time the Pope reached Ancona, on the 19th July, he was seriously ill. Many of the inhabitants mistrusted him, and dreaded his arrival, on account of the frequent differences which had arisen between him and the city.‡

The Pope took up his abode in the Episcopal Palace,

* See the *Letter of Paganinus of the 10th July, 1464, which has already been cited. State Archives, Milan.

† TURSELLINUS, 117–18; KEYSSLER-SCHÜTZE, Reisen, 891 (Hanover, 1751); CIACONIUS, II., 1010; VOIGT, III., 717. Pius II.'s journey to Loreto is mentioned by S. Nardini in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza of the 14th July, 1464. State Archives, Milan.

‡ The Pope arrived outside Ancona on the 18th, but did not make his entry until the following day; see CIAVARINI, I., 184; BROGLIO, in the *Chronicle cited, *supra*, p. 353, MS. in the Gambalunga Library, Rimini, says, f. 277, Pius II. entered Ancona on the 19th July; so does Jacobus de Aretio in a *Letter, dated Ancona, 1464, July 21. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) VOIGT, III., 718, is to be corrected by their statements. In regard to the alarm of the citizens, see *Letter

near the beautiful Cathedral Church of S. Ciriaco, which was built on the site of the Temple of Venus. The height on which this ancient Basilica stands commands a charming view of the old city, the picturesque line of coast, and the sea beyond. "The refreshing breezes which blow there, and the brilliant sunshine, seem like air and light from Hellas and the East."*

The first act of Pius II. was to order public prayers, and to send Cardinals Carvajal and d'Estouteville to quiet the Crusaders, most of whom were Spaniards or French, and spent their time in quarrelling with each other. The majority of them belonged to the poorest class, or were mere vagrants. They had set out without leaders, arms, or money, expecting to have everything provided for them by some miracle. They laid all the blame of their miseries on the Pope, but the summons of Pius II. had only been addressed to soldiers "well-armed, and fully provisioned for at least half a year."† The first thing to

of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, July 22. (Ambrosian Library.) PERUZZI, Ancona, 362, wrongly assigns the 13th and 14th July as the dates of the arrival and entry of Pius II. See *ibid.*, 364 *seq.*, for the justification of the Pope from the charge that he wished to take vengeance on Ancona. The manner in which the citizens manifested their dissatisfaction is described in the Chronic. Eugub., 1007. As to their former disputes with Pius II., there is an interesting *Brief addressed to the City (Dat. Romae, iii. Nov. A° 3°), preserved in the MS. of the Laurentian Library, mentioned, *supra*, p. 71. See also CIAVARINI, St. d'Anc., 116; and CRONICHE, I., 182–5. I saw in Lib. Croc. parvus, 9, of the Ancona Archives, the *Brief of 23rd March, 1461, which is here quoted.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 202. Some remains of the Bishop's Palace still exist. In January, 1883, it was being rebuilt. A plaster bust of Pius II. was the only memorial of him to be seen, and the Keeper of the Episcopal Archives informed me that they contained no Acts of the Pope.

† SIMONETA, 764; PERUZZI, Ancona, 362; VOIGT, III., 713.

be done was to separate those who were without means from those who were sufficiently equipped. This was the task of the two Cardinals, but they were empowered to grant the Crusade Indulgence to those who had to be dismissed, as though they had been accepted.*

Greater efforts even than those made in Rome were now used to detain Pius II. An Envoy, writing on the 22nd July, declared that the Cardinals, the whole Court, and those who immediately surrounded the Pope, were all opposed to his journey. The Cardinals appealed to the Election Capitulation which forbade the Court to be moved without their consent.† The physicians told Pius II. that if he embarked he would not live more than two days.‡ The Diplomatists pointed out the dangers which threatened the Churches of France and Bohemia; but the Pope informed them that he was not afraid of Louis XI., nor yet of the King of Bohemia, who had lately been summoned to give an account of himself; he was resolved to go.§

If the whole Pontificate of Pius II. was more or less a series of disillusions, their climax was reached in these last days of his life. "To the bodily torments of gout, stone, and fever was added the mental anguish of foreseeing that the humiliations of Christendom, and the dangers which

* **Letter of J. de Aretio, dated Ancona, 1464, July 21. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Report of S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, July 28, State Archives, Milan (wrongly placed in Pot. Est., Roma, 1461).

‡ **Despatch of J. de Aretio to the Marchioness Barbara, at Mantua, written 25th July, 1464 (Gonzaga Archives); and **Letter from Paganinus to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 1. State Archives, Milan.

§ *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, July 22. Ambrosian Library.

threatened it, would continue and increase." * The preparations for the expedition had proved so insufficient that it was not possible to think of starting at once.† The only power that was ready was Venice, and that was not trustworthy. The Milanese troops were promised, but they did not come. What Florence sent, after lengthened negotiations, was useless.‡ Few among the Cardinals fulfilled their promises. The death of the Pope seemed so near now that all thoughts were occupied with the approaching Conclave.§ The delusion under which Pius II. laboured, as to the possibility of the Crusade, can only be accounted for by his illness, which must have dimmed his naturally clear perceptions.

At Ancona the state of things became more and more serious. There was not sufficient house-room or water; and, with the great heat of the beginning of August, a pestilence

* K. A. MENZEL, VIII., 34.

† The common statement (which VOIGT, III., 712, adopts from Chastellain), that only two Galleys furnished by the Pope were ready at Ancona, is incorrect. The Chronicle of L. Bernabei in CIAVARINI, I., 184, mentions "quattro galle con molte fuste," which went to meet the Doge. *Carlo de Rodiano informs Marchioness Barbara, on the 19th August, 1464, that "sei nave de lo papa" are in the harbour at Ancona. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, July 28; and a *Despatch from Nicodemus de Pontremoli, dated Florence, 1464, July 9. (State Archives, Milan.) The death of Cosmo de' Medici, which occurred on the 1st August, furnished a welcome pretext for withholding all assistance, although the tithes had been collected; see REUMONT, Hist. Schriften, 80 and 134. Pius II. sent his condolences to Piero de' Medici on the 8th August; see in Appendix, N. 63, the text of this "last letter from the dying Pope," from a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence.

§ Communications on the subject were made in cipher by S. Nardini, Archbishop of Milan, in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464 ult. Julii State Archives, Milan, Cart. Gen.

broke out, which not only carried off many of the Crusaders, but claimed many victims also from the Cardinals' households.*

Extreme was the dismay, when the news came from Ragusa that a large Turkish force was advancing towards the city, threatening it with complete destruction unless tribute were paid, and the vessels which had been promised to the Pope withdrawn. Pius II. at once embarked the 400 Archers, who composed his body-guard, in ships well-laden with corn. He then took counsel with Carvajal and Ammanati as to what should be done if Ragusa were besieged. Carvajal, ever ready to sacrifice himself in the service of God, offered to start that very night with the Galleys then lying in the harbour. "And what should hinder me from sailing with you?" said Pius II. "I am resolved to go, if the Turks advance and invest the place." The suffering Pope still believed in the moral effect his presence would have in striking terror amongst the Turks, and in attracting multitudes of Christians. Carvajal agreed with him.† "But poor creature that I am," says Ammanati, "I spoke strongly against this plan, for, weakened

* The idea of fleeing from the Plague was given up, for the whole of the March of Ancona was infected. Borgia was the only one who left, but he too fell ill. This was attributed to his irregular life; see our account, Vol. II., p. 455. Regarding the Plague, see the **Reports of J. de Aretio, dated Ancona, 1464, July 25, Aug. 7; and a *Letter from Joh. Jac. de Crema, fisico to Marquess Lodovico, dated Montexii ap. Florent., 1464, July 28. (Gonzaga Archives.) In 1464 the Plague raged not only in almost every part of Italy (NOTAR GIACOMO, 109; MASSARI, 44), but also in most of the other countries of Europe. See BACHMANN, I., 263; GEIGER, I., 217; STRICKER, Gesch. der Heilkunde, p. 7 (Frankfort, 1847). WOLTMANN, II., 181, mentions a painting by B. Gozzoli, having reference to this Plague. Regarding the distress in Ancona, see the same *Letter of J. de Aretio of 21st July, 1464. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† VOIGT, III., 719.

as I was with fever, I feared that I should die on the way." Carvajal and the Pope, however, adhered to their purpose, until, four days later, they heard of the departure of the enemy.

"Pius II. almost succumbed beneath the burden laid upon him by his zeal for the accomplishment of the holy work which he had undertaken. Worn out as he was with bodily suffering, the continued mental strain produced a distressing state of feverish excitement." * His agitation was increased by the unaccountable delay of Cardinal Forteguerri and the Venetians, whose ships he had so confidently expected. The Cardinal had at first been hindered by contrary winds; and on the 1st August tidings came that the Plague had broken out in his ships, and in consequence he could not arrive till at least twelve days later; † but the conduct of Venice was of itself enough to wreck the Crusade.‡

From the first, the views of the Republic had differed widely from those of the Pope. Pius II. had desired that common cause should have been made against the Infidels in a holy war; but to the Venetians, the defence of Christianity was a mere pretext, their real aim being the conquest of the Peloponnesus, a matter of extreme importance to their commercial interests.§ When they concluded their

* ZINKEISEN, II., 288.

† See *Despatch of J. de Aretio, dated Rome, 1464, July 4. (Gonzaga Archives.) *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, July 28, and of Paganinus, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 1. State Archives, Milan.

‡ FREDERICQ, 44, has already justly observed: "Mais la peste, la famine et le mauvais vouloir des Vénetiens firent avorter cette expédition." In the following pages I give what seems ample proof of the dishonesty of Venice. The chief authorities on which I rest my statements are documents in the Venetian State Archives, which hitherto had remained unknown.

§ See *supra*, p. 315. A *Despatch from O. de Carretto, dated

alliance with the Pope, they may have flattered themselves that he might be led to connive at their purpose. As soon as it became evident that, looking at matters from a higher point of view, he was bent on uniting all Christendom in a common enterprise, their relations with Rome again became strained. Efforts on their part were not wanting to induce the Head of the Church to give up his independent attitude.* With a shew of zeal for the Faith the Venetian Envoy repeatedly represented the needs of Hungary to the Pope, and urged him to devote all his forces to the war on the mainland;† Venice, herself, wishing to keep in her own hands the sole conduct of the naval operations.‡ In the middle of January, 1464, the Venetian

Rome, 1464, Febr. 3 (Ambrosian Library), shews the Roman Barons to have been of opinion that Venice only desired to reconquer the Morea, not to undertake any real Crusade.

* Fr. Sforza feared that this would actually be the case, and his Envoys in Rome expressed the apprehension to the Pope, who repeatedly declared that he neither had become a Venetian, nor ever would. *Letter of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Jan. 25. Ambrosian Library.

† *1463, Decemb. viii. Commissio viro nobili Ludovico Fuscareno oratori nostro ad S. Pontif. Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 211; see *ibid.*, f. 217–217b, Decemb. xxviii. Commissio L. Fuscareno, &c. State Archives, Venice.

‡ For this reason the Venetian Envoy made objections to the proposal that the fleet should sail under the banner of the Church, see *supra*, p. 328. On the 19th June, 1464, the Venetian Envoy to the Roman Court was instructed, if the Pope's departure should not take place, to represent to him the great outlay Venice had expended, and to beg that he would permit, "quod galee saltem rev. dom. cardinalium et aliorum dominorum et communitatum armari iam designate et promisse et pro quibus denarii iam sunt huc conducti et parati cum omni festinatione armentur *et simul cum nostris vadant ad inveniendum capitaneum nostrum generalem maris.*" Sen. Secr. XX., f. 19b. (State Archives, Venice.) *J. de Aretio, writing from Ancona on the 21st July, 1464, says that the Venetians caused the

Envoy urged that the number of Galleys intended to accompany the Pope should be reduced, and the money to be spent on them sent instead to Hungary. Pius II. replied that it would be more to the purpose if Venice were to abstain from arming a few of her own Galleys, and devote the money to Hungary; the number of those destined for the Pope was already less than befitted his dignity. This answer so incensed the representative of the Republic of St. Mark that he declared he had much rather the Pope should stay at home altogether.*

Venice continued to make every effort to carry out her purpose. Her Envoys were repeatedly charged to work in this direction, and to quiet the Pope by assuring him that the Republic would have more than forty triremes afloat, which he might look upon as his own, and which would always be completely at his disposal.†

The real worth of these promises was soon evident. In April, when the Bishop of Torcello, speaking in the Pope's

crews of the vessels which the Cardinals, the Bolognese, and others had fitted out at their own expense at Venice, to swear obedience to the Republic. Bologna was not satisfied with this. It was hoped that the Pope would interfere. Gonzaga Archives.

* *Letter of Otto de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, Jan. 18. (State Archives, Milan.) On the 17th January, he had written the following words: *"Questo ambasciatore (of Venice) pare si trovi non ben satisfacto et ha avuto a dire che piu li seria caro che la S^ta^ di N. S^re^ non andasse lei in persona et questa spesa che fa Sua S^ta^ in questo suo aparato la facesse in gente d'arme, &c."

† "*Vestra itaque prudentia et modestia consueta curabitis rem istam, si ita esse possit, ad aliquem bonum effectum producere commemorando etiam ad vestra proposita pro quanto, ad diminutionem expense classis Sue Sanctitatis spectare potest, quod nos habebimus in mari ultra triremes XL^ta^ quas B. Sua proprias suas reputare poterit quoniam semper erunt et ad beneplacitum et ad obedientiam suam. Sen. Secr. XXI., f. 225. Oratori nostro ad S. Pontif., 1463 (st. fl.), Jan. 24." State Archives, Venice.

name, requested Venice to furnish means of transport for a portion of the Crusading army, the Signoria declared that their ships were for the moment employed in the convoy of troops to Greece, and that it would be better for the Crusaders to go by way of Hungary.* In the summer, when they began to arrive in considerable numbers in Italy, those who went to Venice did not find a single ship ready for them.† In January, forty triremes were to be placed at the sole disposal of the Pope; on the 21st of June, two ships for the transport of the soldiers, then in Ancona, were all that was promised.‡ But how was even this miserable promise kept?

Three weeks more went by; the Pope was at the gates of Ancona, but no Venetian ship had appeared. The Envoy who accompanied Pius II. was instructed to report upon the number of Crusaders then at Ancona, and the Pope was assured for his comfort that two large transports were in readiness at Venice.§ Another week elapsed before they were really sent. When they at length reached Ancona, on the 11th August, they found but a small number of Crusaders waiting to embark. For most of them, wearied with waiting, had left the city at the end of July.‖ According to Ammanati, this was the Pope's death-blow.

* **1464, die quinto Aprilis episcopo Torcellano. Sen. Secr. XX., f. 9b. State Archives, Venice.

† DETMAR'S Chronik, II., 274 *seq.*; VOIGT, III., 714.

‡ **Oratori nostro ad S. Pontificem, 1464, die xxi. Junii. Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 20b. In a *Letter to S. Malatesta, dated 1464, June 25, the Venetians speak of three large ships which would go to Ancona "quam primum," *ibid.*, f. 21b. State Archives, Venice.

§ **Ludovico Fuscareno doctori, oratori nostro ad S. Pontificem, 1464, die xvi. Julii. Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 25. State Archives, Venice.

‖ "*Sono venute due navi da Venetia per passar gente quando sia bisogno." Paganinus to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug 11. (State Archives, Milan.) The unfavourable opinion entertained in

What interest in the holy cause could be expected from a government which, in the midst of the preparations for the campaign against the Turks, renewed their war on Trieste? In July, 1464, a detachment of Venetian troops invaded the territory belonging to that city, destroyed the salt works in the Valley of Zaule, and then retired.*

The delay of the Doge's departure was equally disgraceful. His reluctance to take part in the war was an open secret.† In Venice, however, where the interest of the State was predominant, his personal feelings would have signified little had there been a real desire for the Crusade. The representations made by the Venetian Envoy, at the end of April, to the Pope, would lead us to believe that such existed. Pius II. was urged to come to Ancona with all possible speed.‡ But at this very time, as a matter of fact, the only preparations that were being seriously pressed on were those for the war in Greece. The arming of the fleet, which was to sail with the Pope, proceeded so slowly that in June one of the Envoys was of opinion that it would never be completed.§ At the end of January the number of ships which were to

Ancona of the Venetians is evident from **S. Nardini's Despatch of 11th Aug., 1464. (Ambrosian Library.) In his *Letter, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 10, J. de Aretio says that the greater number of the Crusaders had already departed. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) According to S. Nardini's *Letter of the 28th July, 1464, which we have cited above, only about 200 remained behind.

* LÖWENTHAL, Gesch. von Triest, 70 (1857); BACHMANN, I., 531.

† *Despatch of O. de Carretto, dated Rome, 1464, May 26. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See the *Report of O. de Carretto, ex Petriolo, 25th April, 1464. State Archives, Milan.

§ *G. de Collis to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1464, June 17. (State Archives, Milan.) Regarding the preparations for the reconquest of the Peloponnesus, see *Senato Mar., Vol. VII. State Archives, Venice.

accompany the Doge was fixed at ten.* By the 12th July five triremes only were ready.† When once the Pope had reached Ancona, further delay would have given open scandal. Accordingly, it was at last determined, on the 26th July, that the Doge should put to sea on Sunday 29th ;‡ but Cristoforo Moro still lingered, and a fresh summons on the 2nd August was required to make him leave Venice ; even then he did not proceed straight to Ancona, but went first to Istria to complete the equipment of his vessels.§

The dissatisfaction caused at Ancona by all this delay was universal. Well-informed persons were of opinion that the Doge would not come ;‖ and even after he had left Venice, the Duke of Milan was convinced that Cristoforo Moro would sail home again.¶

Pius II. was in a state of most distressing uncertainty, for, from the time of his arrival at Ancona, no communication regarding the Doge's movements had reached him from Venice.** Without the Venetian fleet it was evidently impossible to commence operations ; had it "arrived in due

* **Decision of the 30th January, 1463 (st. fl.) S. Mar. State Archives, Venice.

† **Letter for Ludovico Fuscareno doctori, oratori nostro ad S. Pontif. dated 1464, Jul. 12, Sen. Secr. XXII., f. 24b, *ibid.*

‡ **Ibid.*, f. 26–27b.

§ MALIPIERO, 29 ; CICOGNA, VI., 576. On the 2nd Aug., 1464, the Doge informed the Envoy, in Hungary : *"quam primum discedamus profecturi ad urbem Anconae." Sen. Secr. XXII., 28b. State Archives, Venice.

‖ *Letter of S. Nardini, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 11. Ambrosian Library.

¶ *Fr. Sforza to Malleta, dated Milan, 1464, Aug. 10, Cod. Ital. 1611. National Library, Paris.

** **Letter of J. de Aretio of the 25th July, 1464 (Gonzaga Archives), and *Despatch from S. Nardini to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 4. State Archives, Milan.

time, an attempt might have been made to secure the Dalmatian Coast and Ragusa, which was threatened by the Turks. Such had been the intention of the Pope and Carvajal. But day after day passed, and Pius II. grew daily worse." *

On the 11th August a slight improvement in the Pope's condition was apparent, though the fever still continued.† His vital energies seemed to rally for a time, when, at last, on the 12th August, the approach of the Venetian ships was announced. He desired that his Galleys with five of the Cardinals should go to meet them. Then, with great difficulty, he had himself carried to a window of his bed-chamber, which looked upon the harbour and the sea. "A flood of despondency overwhelmed his spirit" as he watched the ships coming in, and, with a deep sigh, he murmured, "until this day the fleet was wanting for my expedition, and now I must be wanting to the fleet!"‡

It was not long before death set the Pope free from his sufferings of mind and body. On the morning of the 13th August he received the Holy Viaticum, in the presence of

* REUMONT, III., 1, 151. The Ambassadors repeatedly declare that the Pope was unable to come to any further decision regarding the Crusade until the arrival of the Doge. See *Letters of J. de Aretio, dated Ancona, 1464, July 21, July 25, Aug. 7. In the last of these are the following words : *"Del andar contra el Turco questo anno lasso el iudicio a V. Ex. Da la parte de N. S. buono animo ce, se le forze del corpo ci fusseno, ma li medici gli danno per conseglio che rebus sic stantibus non entri in galea. Stimese che forse se fara per questo anno uno legato. Tutto depende da quello se concludera [a gap in the original] lo ser. duce sira qui. Mons. Niceno molti giorni fa arrivo qui . . . his Galley is molto bene in ordine." Gonzaga Archives.

† Paganinus to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 11. State Archives, Milan.

‡ The Pope was at this time too weak to attend to any business. *Letter of Maffeo Valaresso, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 12. Barberini Library, XXIX., 153, f. 582.

his household, and addressed them in words befitting the Vicar of Christ.* On the following day the Cardinals gathered round his death-bed. He gathered up his failing powers once more to impress upon their minds the holy work to which he had devoted his life. "My well-beloved Brethren," he said in his gentle and often broken voice, "my hour is drawing near: God calls me. I die in the Catholic Faith in which I have lived. Up to this day I have taken care of the sheep committed to me, and have shrunk from no danger or toil. You must now complete what I have begun but am not able to finish. Labour therefore in God's work, and do not cease to care for the cause of the Christian Faith, for this is your vocation in the Church. Be mindful of your duty, be mindful of your Redeemer, who sees all, and rewards every one according to his deserts. Guard the States of the Church also, that they may suffer no harm. Beloved Brethren, as Cardinal and as Pope I have committed many faults in my dealings with you. I have offended God, I have wounded Christian charity. For those offences may the Almighty have mercy on me; for that in which I have failed towards you, forgive me, beloved brethren, now, in the presence of death. I commend to you my kindred, and those who have served me, if they prove worthy. Farewell, Brethren! May the peace of God and heavenly grace be with you." The Cardinals listened in tears. For a long time not one could speak. At length Bessarion, in the name of all, made a short reply; they then knelt round the bed to kiss his hand.

The next day being the Feast of the Assumption, Pius II. wished again to receive the Blessed Sacrament, and his friend, Cardinal Ammanati, was to bring It to him; but the

* See the *Letter of S. Nardini of the 13th Aug., 1464. State Archives, Milan.

Pope was not destined to celebrate the Feast on earth. After he had been anointed, he again expressed his desire that the Crusade should be persevered with, and then fell asleep peacefully about the third hour of the night. His last words were addressed to Ammanati. They were a request to be remembered in his prayers.* "Such was the end of Æneas Sylvius, his last hours bearing witness to the depth and earnestness of his zeal for the Crusade."†

The body was laid out in the Cathedral on the Feast of the Assumption (August 15, 1464), and afterwards, in accordance with the desire of the deceased Pope, conveyed to Rome, where it was buried in the Chapel of St. Andrew, which he had built.‡

Pius II. had been the soul of the Crusade, and it came to an end with him; his death was "a heavy blow not only to Western Christendom, but also to the Christians of the

* See AMMANATI, Ep., f. 26b–28, 42b, and 341–342b; CAMPANUS, 990. Regarding the Pope's death, see Appendix, N. 64, *G. Lolli's Despatch of the 15th Aug., 1464. State Archives, Siena.

† HEINEMANN, 27. In another passage (3) this scholar observes in relation to Pius II.: "His warnings, counsels, and predictions, his ardent, although fruitless, zeal for the complete removal of the danger by which Europe was, for the first time, threatened, are still worthy of consideration in our own days. His far-sightedness discerned the evil which has come upon subsequent generations from the establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus, and had his exhortations then been heeded, the crisis which now threatens us would have been averted."

‡ Regarding the tomb of Pius II., see CANCELLIERI, De Secret., 712 *seq.* On the occasion of the restoration of St. Peter's, under Paul V., Pius II.'s monument was removed to the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, where it "occupies the whole space between two of the pillars." GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 96. The long epitaph of 1623 is in CIACONIUS, II., 1027 (where is also a very imperfect representation of the monument), and BONANNI, I., 69–70; for the old one, see DE ROSSI, Inscript., II., 421.

East, who were already beginning to feel the pressure of the Turkish yoke."*

On hearing of the Pope's death, the Doge landed. Francesco Gonzaga, who had recently arrived in his Galley, met him with three other Cardinals, and accompanied him to S. Ciriaco. Here Cristoforo Moro at once had a conference with some of the members of the Sacred College, Cardinals Barbo and Borgia being prevented by illness from taking part in it.† At the same time came the tidings of the death of the celebrated Cardinal Cusa, which had taken place at Todi on the 11th August.‡

From one of the accounts of the conference between the Cardinals and the Doge "who had undertaken the expedition much against his will,"§ we learn that the latter made demands which it was impossible to concede.‖ On the 16th August the Archbishop of Milan expressed his opinion that the Venetians evidently repented of their voyage to Ancona and the whole expedition against the Turks.¶

* DÜX, II., 238.

† See **Report of Rafael Caymus to Simoneta, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 15 (State Archives, Milan), and the letters of Giacomo d'Arezzo and Cardinal Gonzaga, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also MALIPIERO, 30.

‡ In the *Letter from the Archbishop of Milan, cited below, note ¶, is the following passage regarding the death of Cusa: "del che e gran danno per la virtu et religione regnava in Sua Signoria." See Script. rer. Siles., IX., 91, 94, and *supra*, p. 211, note †.

§ This is also the opinion of VOIGT, III., 722.

‖ " El prefato illustre duxe audito poi in concistorio el collegio de li revmi cardinali ha dimandato cose molto difficili et ardue et impossibili a quel collegio." *Letter to C. Simoneta of the 24th August, 1464, in the State Archives, Milan. The name of the writer, as well as that of the place where it was written, has been destroyed by damp.

¶ *Report to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16. State Archives, Milan.

After the Doge had returned to his ship, the Cardinals, who were longing to get back to Rome, determined to give over the Galleys which were lying ready in the harbour to the Republic, on condition, however, that they should be restored if the new Pope were not to approve of the arrangement, or should himself wish to undertake a Crusade. It was, moreover, resolved that the 40,000 ducats which remained of the money collected for the Turkish war should be entrusted to the Venetians for transmission to the King of Hungary. These decisions were imparted to the Doge on the following day.* On the 17th, the Pope's body was removed to Rome; his viscera were buried in the Choir of S. Ciriaco.† Some of the Cardinals left Ancona the same day, the rest soon followed, for all were anxious to be in good time for the new election.‡

* AMMANATI, Comment. 362. See MALIPIERO, 31, and Chronic. Eugub., 1008. Here the correct number of 40,000 ducats is given, while Ammanati mentions 8000 more. The exact sum is copied at p. 336, *supra*, from the account book in the State Archives, Rome.

† In the middle of the Choir the spot is marked by a marble slab, bearing the arms of Pius II., and the following Inscription (given incorrectly in LEONI, 232, and CIAVARINI, I., 185).

MCCCCLXIIII. XIX. Kls. Sept:
PII II.
Pont. Max. praecordia tumulantur.
Corpus Romam
translatum. Anco.
moritur dum
in Turcos bella parat.

‡ Report of Nicodemus de Pontremoli to Fr. Sforza, on the 23rd Aug., 1464. (State Archives, Milan.) Of the conference of the 16th August we have, unfortunately, only general notices in the *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene and Card. Gonzaga of the 16th Aug., 1464. Gonzaga Archives.

The Doge left Ancona in the night of the 18th August, and went, in the first instance, to Istria with his squadron.* And now came the fulfilment of Pandolfo Contarini's predictions to the Duke of Milan when the Venetian fleet first set sail for Ancona.† Cristoforo Moro returned to Venice, and orders were issued at once that the squadron should be dismantled!‡

A glance at the energy with which Pius II., like his predecessor, Calixtus III., sought to resist the power of the Turks, suffices to shew the injustice of the reproach of recent days, that the Popes were responsible for the incubus which even now presses upon Europe in the form of the Eastern question. "The Papacy never forgot, in the face of difficulties of all sorts, its duty of Christianising the East,§ and was equally persevering in its advocacy of the Crusades as the only way in which the increasing danger of Turkish invasion could be met. The Popes did more in proportion to their material resources than any European power, for the defence of Christendom against this terrible foe. Pius II., on his death-bed while the Crusaders' fleet sailed into Ancona, was the champion and exponent of a great idea, whatever opinion may be

* Giacomo d'Arezzo to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 18: *"Lo ser^mo^ duce de Venetia se partira questa nocte." (Gonzaga Archives.) On the 21st August, C. Moro, from Parenzo, announces his speedy return to Venice. *Original Letter in State Archives, Venice, Atti. Dipl.

† P. Contarini, in a *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated Venice, 1464, Aug. 29, refers to these predictions. State Archives, Milan.

‡ See P. Contarini's letter, cited in previous note. The tortuous style of the Doge's *Letter to Fr. Sforza, dated 25th Aug., 1464, is characteristic. He announces his return to Venice, and represents the death of the Pope to have been quite unexpected! *Original in the State Archives, Milan.

§ See our 1st Vol., p. 60 *seq.*

formed as to the suitability of the means by which it was to have been realised."*

Pius II. is one of those Pontiffs whose life and character has called forth the most conflicting appreciations. This is not surprising, if we consider his great talents and varied attainments, so far surpassing those of the majority of his contemporaries, and the many changes which marked the course of his eventful life. It is impossible to defend much of his conduct in his earlier days, or his nepotism when raised to the Papal Throne. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, as Head of the Church, Pius II. did much to restore the dignity and authority of the Holy See; and that, in cultivation and learning, this gifted and genial Pope has had hardly an equal among Princes.† The greatest authority on the Renaissance period places him next in order of merit to Nicholas V., admittedly the best of the 15th century Popes.‡ And, besides this, we cannot withhold our admiration and esteem from the untiring zeal with which, although feeble with age and tortured by bodily suffering, he laboured in what he must have felt to be the almost hopeless cause of the Crusade, striving with might and main to organise the forces of the West to resist the imminent destruction with which they were threatened by the Turkish power. This alone will secure for him an honoured remembrance throughout all ages.

* See REUMONT, Allg. Zeitung, 3676 (1879), as against Döllinger's intemperate charges. See also VIGNA, II., 1, 101 *seq.*, 167.

† GEIGER, 140. MÜNTZ, I., 220, similarly expresses himself: "L'Église a rarement été gouvernée par un Pape aussi lettré, aussi spirituel, aussi aimable que Pie II." PALACKY, IV., 1, 373, speaks of Æneas Sylvius as one of the greatest intellects of his age. See also MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 17; HELWING, 2 and 24; and SISMONDI, X., 354. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 204, 3rd ed., describes Pius II. as a great ornament of the Papacy.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 90, 3rd ed.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE documents here brought together are only intended to corroborate and complete the text. It did not form part of the plan of my work to furnish an actual collection of Archives. I have given as accurately as I could the place where each is to be found. From considerations of space, my explanatory observations have been made as few and as brief as possible. As a rule I have retained the spelling, punctuation, &c., of the text; such alterations as I have made in regard to capital letters and punctuation do not require justification. All emendations of any importance are mentioned, but slight mistakes and obvious misprints are corrected without remark. Additions are marked by brackets, and incomprehensible or doubtful passages by a note of interrogation, or the word *sic*. Those which I have omitted as beside my purpose, either in my first copy, or later, when preparing for the press, are thus indicated (. . .).

1. OTTO DE CARRETTO TO FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.*

1458, Aug. 14, Rome.

Illustrissime princeps et excellentissime domine, &c.

Poyche l'altissimo Dio ha voluto ad se recevere quello dignissimo cardinale de Fermo† et cosi repentinamente ce ha rotto el disegno

* See *supra*, p. 7. † Domenico Capranica.

nostro, il quale se in hominem e fede alcuna non poteva mancare come qualche volta faro intendere chiaro a chi vegna qui per Vostra Excellentia, rivocando in tanto dolore a me il consiglio de la rasone spero con l'aiuto de Dio drizare la cosa ad asay bon porto et non son senza speranza del rev. cardinale de Colonna, ma piu fatibile pare de quello de Siena* et a questo se accorda meglio li animi de tutte le parti et cosi de questi ambasciatori de la Maesta del re.† Onde mi sforzero de operare con tal discretione che venendo in lui o altri, per che intendero pendere la fortuna, se tegnira da nuy servito in modo che Vostra Excellentia restera da mia opera e diligentia satisfacto secondo il caso, non altro per questa. Rome die xiv. Augusti, 1458.

Eiusdem Vestrae Excellentiae fidelissimus servitor,

OTHO DE CARRETTO.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

2. OTTO DE CARRETTO TO FRANCESCO SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.‡

1458, Aug. 20, Rome.

Come per altre scrissi a v. Ex^cia^ lo collegio de carl^i^ gia havea concesso ch'a la guardia del conclavi fussero accettati li ambasiatori de la M^ta^ del re Ferrando come ambasiatori regali et tal opera havemo fatta con li amici; hora la S^ta^ de N. S. insieme con li rev^mi^ carl^i^ hanno deliberato in ogni atto siano accettati come ambasiatori regali et carl^i^ et altri li possiano scrivere re. Item la prefata S^ta^ de N. S. molto largamente et gratiosamente li ha confortati che facino la sua proposta in consistorio a la Sua S^ta^ et a li carl^i^ et che lasseno conducere la cosa a sua Bea^ne^ perche la conducera a bon porto, del che sono rimasti molto contenti et intendono il favore de v. Ex^cia^ in queste sue cose haverli giovato asay et resteno, ut opinor, de mia opera ben satisfatti, &c.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

* Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

† Ferrante of Naples.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 8, 20.

3. Antonio da Pistoja to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1458, Aug. 21, Rome.

Come credo sara avisata la S. V. gran pericolo fu che non havemo papa franzoso et io sapevo tal practica tra Roano† et Vignone‡ che era quasi impossibile ch'el papato non tochasse a uno di loro duy. Laudato Dio che e remaso in Italia. In questo principio ha grande stato presso al papa il cardinal di Bologna§ et Pavia‖ sera el secondo perche fu molto favorevole a la sua electione, et contrario a Mons. de Roano per il che sono fatti inimici. Ma credo bixognera per forza ch'el papa habia bona intelligentia con questi dui franzosi, se vorra havere obbedientia da la lor natione, che è sempre el principale membro di questa corte. Et gia li ditti duy car^li franzosi cominciano a fare di strecte pratiche insieme

[Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

4. Pope Pius II. to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.¶

1458, Dec. 10, Rome.

Pius PP. II. Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedic. Ex litteris, quas tua nobilitas ad nos et suos hic presentes oratores nuperrime scripsit, intelleximus promptitudinem tuam ad omnia peragenda que nobis grata esse intelligis et statui nostro conducere arbitraris.

Cognovimus enim quid mandatario comitis Jacobi Piccinini responderis, quid Tome de Bononia ad illum misso exponenda tui parte commiseris: quid denique pro redintegratione nobilium Senensium ad regimen civitatis pollicearis et sentias. Que omnia adeo nobis iocunda sunt et accepta: ut te in diem magis ex toto corde nostro amemus in nostrisque et ecclesie necessitatibus unicum ac verum refugium in tua nobilitate positum arbitremur. Agimus igitur pro his omnibus bonitati et caritati tue debitas gratias teque dignum putamus quem apostolica sedes in suum peculiarem filium habeat et eum benevolentiae officio prosequatur, non dubitantes huiusmodi zelum quem preter ceteros in rebus

* See *supra*, pp. 12, 17, 32, 293.
† d'Estouteville.
‡ Alain.
§ F. Calandrini.
‖ J. Castiglione.
¶ See *supra*, p. 28, and Raynaldus, ad an. 1458, N. 5.

ecclesie ostendis ad meritum divine retributionis et prosperum tuum [statum]* cessurum. Quia vero satis adhuc dubitamus quorsum sit evasura in restituenda civitate Assisij comitis antedicti voluntas, et securiori parti semper est consulendum, optaremus vehementer ut gentes illae, quas tua nobilitas missuram se scribit mittere, sine ulla dilatione quantocius maturares, adeo ut, cum nos concedente altissimo intendamus circa festum purificationis beate Virginis Perusij personaliter interesse, ante eam diem, si fieri posset, terras ecclesie essent ingresse, credentes celerem earum adventum ad omnia feliciter dirigenda plurimum posse conferre, quod ut tua generositas faciat, studiose requirimus in singulare pignus tui in nos animi hoc habituri. Cum autem subducta nostrarum gentium ratione videamur equites mille et totidem pedites ad hoc ipsum posse afferre, tibique vires comitis antedicti et loca in quibus illi est obsistendum notissima esse non dubitemus, pro [tua]* sapientia iudicare facile potes quem numerum copiarum mitti sit opus. Nos tamen quantum opinione nostra consequi possumus putaremus duo milia equitum et pedites mille vel saltem quingentos ex provisionariis tuis presenti necessitati sufficere, quod tamen juditio tuo, qui sapientissime omnia perspicis, totum relinquimus. Unum requirimus, ut quam primum venire illas mandaveris, nos ilico facias certiores, ut in tempore ductoribus earum significare possimus, in quam partem terrarum nostrarum divertere illas velimus. Quod si forte comes predictus tuis admonitionibus cedens Assisium nobis antea redderet (quod tamen incertum est nobis) nobilitati tue scribemus quam partem illarum gentium si necessitas fuerit relinqui nobis optemus, in omnibusque ita nos habere curabimus ut obsequia tua cognita et grata fuisse intelligas. Quia vero carissimus in Christo filius noster Ferdinandus Sicilie rex illustris nuper ad comitem antedictum Antonium de Pisauro transmisit, et is hac iter faciens instructiones, quas ad illum regio nomine deferebat, nobis ostendit, ne quid tua nobilitas eorum quae aguntur ignoret, cuncta tuis oratoribus predictis narravimus. Ex quorum litteris illa et que in presentiarum exposcimus plenius intelligere poteris. Solum eandem tuam generositatem hortamur in domino, ut cum primus in Italia princeps sis, qui ingruente necessitate ad conservationem comunis pacis et

* Word left out in text.

protectionem apostolice sedis contra illarum turbatores semper exurgas, tuam in hoc gloriosam consuetudinem studeas retinere et in cumulum tue in nos fidelis voluntatis causam nobilium predictorum nostra opera inceptam, suffragio tuo et celeri missione eius quem dicis iuvare contendas, ut omni ex parte tibi debere et agere gratias habeamus.

Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die x. Decembris millesimo quadringentesimo octavo pontificatus nostri anno primo.

JA. LUCENSIS.

[*P.S.*]—Super his etiam dilectus filius Galeottus de Agnes. familiaris noster per suas litteras tuae nobilitati desyderium nostrum et presentem necessitatem pluribus explicabit.

[Atergo]
Dilecto filio nobili viro
Francisco Sforzie duci
Mediolani.

[Original in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

5. POPE PIUS II. TO EMPEROR FREDERICK III.*

1459, Jan. 26, Spoleto.

He commends him for being constantly faithful to the Holy See, and thanks him for information regarding preparations against the Emperor and the Pope.†

Orator noster quem apud celsitudinem tuam habemus misit ad nos copiam responsi super adventu tuo ad dietam accepti quod profecto neque expectationi nostre neque necessitati satis respondet. . . . He himself is coming to Mantua. Nemo profecto erit qui te cessante non sibi honestum putet cessare. Pro honore igitur Germanie nacionis et gloria nominis tui, pro salute etiam cristiane religionis cui gradus tuus imprimis est debitor velit serenitas tua super hoc actentius cogitare et omnino ad conveniendum mentem disponere.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 6b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, pp. 49 and 64.

† See GEBHARDT, Gravamina, p. 29.

6. Pope Pius II. to Emperor Frederick III.*

1459, Febr. 26, Siena.

Declines to give advice regarding the reception of the Crown of Hungary; see Raynaldus, ad an. 1459, N. 14. . . .

Quod autem ob hanc solam causam adventum tuum ad dietam excusas, hoc nobis valde est grave non solum quia exemplo tuo multis convenire cura non erit, sed quia plane videmus racionem pii consilii nostri impediri vel certe in longum differri. . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 15b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

7. Pope Pius II. to Emperor Frederick III.†

1459, Febr. 28, Siena.

Ex urbe primum diem discessus nostri et mox ex arce Spoletana‡ progressum itineris et alia quae oportuna sunt visa tue celsitudini significavimus. Nunc autem eidem eciam nunciamus nos iuvante altissimo Senas iam pervenisse et hic non longa facta mora ad civitatem Mantuanam recto itinere profecturos sublimitatem tuam hortantes in domino et per salutem christiani populi in cuius protectione una nobiscum Deo es debitor ex corde requirimus ut preces nostras tocies super personali tuo adventu iteratas exaudire clementer velis sciens te unum esse in quem respiciunt ceteri et qui tuo exemplo ad res prospere vel secus gerendas dare in utramque partem momentum maximum potes. Velis in hoc diligenter actendere quid a te in tali necessitate requirat Deus, quid honor tuus expostulet et quid nostra toti orbi nota conditio flagitet. . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 20. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

8. Pope Pius II. to Bernhardus de Bosco.§

1459, March 18, Siena.

Quia continuantibus discordiis inter chariss. in Christo filium nostrum F[erdinandum] Sicilie regem ill. et dil. fil. nob. virum principem Tarentinum verisimiliter posset tota Ytalia ex diuturna quiete sua maximis olim laboribus parta in antiquas calamitates recidere, sends to the Archbishop of Ravenna in order to bring about a peace between them.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 64. † See *supra*, p. 53. ‡ See *previous page*. § See *supra*, p. 74.

9. Pope Pius II. to Emperor Frederick III.*

1459, April 30, Florence.

. . . . Verum cogitamus hos ipsos oratores licet virtute et fide meliores esse non possint nosque propterea eis ex corde sumus affecti tamen in conventu tot principum non satis representaturos esse gradum celsitudinis tue qui ut magnus est ita et maiora ceteris postulat. Credidimus honori tuo plurimum convenire saltem inter hos ipsos principem aliquem de pocioribus dominorum tuorum ascribere in cuius persona tu honoreris et qui praestancia sua non solum auctoritatem diete adjicere sed omnia tua possit maiora efficere. Propterea eandem celsitudinem hortamur in domino ut † pro estimacione nominis sui velit hoc ipsum actendere et iudicium nostrum amplecti. He gave him this advice, because he is solicitous for his honour, which he will defend: tamen veremur ne si digniores non miseris omnis nostra excusatio parum vera appareat, nunc presertim cum acceptata electione regni Ungarie defensio eius contra impetus Turchorum tibi sit debita et ignominiosum possit censeri non ostendere hoc regni inicio mentem ad illius protectionem incensam. Hec ut fideli animo scribimus, ita velit serenitas tua in bonam partem accipere et nos exaudire, oratores etiam predicti ad te redeuntes de his et ceteris tue cels. plenius referent. Dat. Florentiae ex itinere xxx. Aprilis A° 1°.

[Lib. brev. f. 31. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

10. Pope Pius II. to King John II. of Aragon.‡

1459, May 12, Bologna.

Pervenimus iam duce altissimo &c. . . . Sere. tuam hortamur in domino et per viscera misericordie domini nostri requirimus ut memor causam fidei agi qua nulla est major et in cuius defensione catholicus quisque est debitor, velis ceteris impedimentis posthabitis que nos in rebus nostris pro Deo contempsimus ad ipsam dietam accedere et pias exhortationes s. sedis hoc necessario tempore audire. Dat. Bononiae xii. Maii A° 1°. Regi Anglie simile.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 34. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 66. This Brief is essentially different from that in the Comment., which Voigt, III., 50, rightly considers to be forged.

† Hs.: et.

‡ See *supra*, p. 58.

11. Pope Pius II. to John III., Bishop of Eichtstätt.*

1459, May 31, Mantua.

Ad diem vicesimum septimum maii duce Deo Mantuam venimus cum antea per litteras nostras in kalendis iunii promisissemus nos illuc affuturos. Expectamus principes huc conventuros vel si id non poterunt oratores eorum quorum neminem convenisse hucusque satis miramur. Hortamur frat. tuam, &c.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 35; see f. 37, a similar summons to the Archbishop of Salzburg. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

12. Pope Pius II. to Duke Louis of Savoy.†

1459, June 2nd, Mantua.

Inasmuch as the Duke, so he hears, will not come in person to Mantua, it is all the more fitting that he should send Ambassadors.

Hortamur nobilitatem tuam in domino ut aut per te ipsum quod inprimis optamus aut per oratores quos scribis viros praestantes et tante solemnitati ydoneos velis celeriter convenire.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 39. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

13. Pope Pius II. to Frankfort on Maine.‡

1459, June 2nd, Mantua.

Pius PP. II. Dilecti filii salutem et apostolicam benedict. Credimus devotioni vestre notum iam esse, quemadmodum de mense octobris iam proxime elapsi intendentes quantum in nobis esset saluti fidelium contra perfidos Turchos paterne consulere indiximus in kal. iunii in civitate Mantue solemnem dietam principum et potentatum christianorum dispositi concedente Deo personaliter ibidem interesse, ad quam iam duce altissimo quinto ante hunc terminum die personaliter affuimus iter ingressi non sine magnis persone et rerum nostrarum incommodis. Siquidem etas nostra iam ingravescens quietem desiderat et patrimonium ecclesie pontificis presentia destitutum manifestis periculis quotidie subiacet; omnia hec tamen pro Deo magnifacienda non duximus scientes fidelium populorum salutem et causam sacrosancte fidei catholice anteferendam esse cunctis laboribus atque periculis. Cum itaque comunitatem vestram magnifecerimus semper illamque con-

* See *supra*, pp. 59 and 67. † See *supra*, p. 87. ‡ See *supra*, p. 61.

silio et ope sua plurimum adiumenti afferre posse sciamus ad hoc nostrum propositum, hortamur devotionem vestram in domino et instanter requirimus ut sicut devoti apostolice sedis filii et bonorum operum zelatores velitis huc una cum ceteris oratores vestros transmittere mandatum tale afferentes, ut ipsam comunitatem super concludendis non sit necesse ex ipsa dieta quotidie consuli. Facietis in hoc Deo rem acceptabilem, nobis gratam et toti christiano populo salutarem, honori quoque vestro hac in parte laudabiliter consuletis, siquidem de fide catholica agitur pro qua et gloriosum est mori et labores suscipere christiano cuique debitum. Ipsos igitur vestros oratores unacum ceteris hic expectamus. Dat. Mantue sub anulo piscatoris die ii. Junii, 1459, pontif. nostri anno primo.

Ja. Lucen.

[A tergo :]

Dilectis filiis et comunitati civitatis Francfordien.

[Original in the City Archives at Frankfort-on-Maine. Reichsangelegenheiten betreffendes, N. 5107.]

14. Pope Pius II. to King Charles VII. of France.*

1459, June 8, Mantua.

. . . Quare hortamur et rogamus tuam cels. ex corde ut post-habitis omnibus difficultatibus velis quam celerius fieri potest ad nos iam Mantue prestolantes oratores suos mittere et quidem ut paulo antea scripseramus ita dignos tua sere^te et munitos mandatis necessariis ut quoad ea, que tractanda erunt, mittere ad te denuo consulendum non expediat.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

15. Pope Pius II. to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, Legate at Rome.†

1459, June 9, Mantua.

He begs him to remain in Rome and keep at his post, and praises him for having so well maintained peace. Te enim istic presente quieto animo vivimus et nostra omnia in tuto posita credimus. Should he find the heat oppressive, he may go to Tivoli. The Pope will not forget to take care of his business ; duci Sigismundo efficacissime scripsimus. . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 43. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 68.

† See *supra*, p. 106.

16. Pope Pius II. to Procopius of Rabenstein.*

1459, June 12, Mantua.

. . . hortamur tuam devot. in domino et studiose requirimus ut exhortari cariss. in Christo fil. nostrum Bohemorum regem ill. quotidianis commemorationibus tuis non desinas ad celeriter mittendos oratores suos ad hanc Mantuanam dietam mandato pleno suffultos non solum ad ea quae sanctam pro fide expeditionem concernunt, sed ad ea eciam componenda atque tractanda per que regnum illud matrem suam Romanam ecclesiam omni ex parte cognoscat.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 46. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

17. Pope Pius II. to Bologna.†

1459, July 28, Mantua.

Dilecti fili, &c. Quom istic Bononie essemus, officii et propositi nostri memores hortati sumus vos, ut oratores vestros ad dietam pro rebus christiane fidei agitandis institutam mittere curaretis. Et quidem non mediocriter admirati sumus id a vobis ad hanc usque diem dilatum extitisse. Cum presertim idipsum ea nos potissimum gratia exoptare intellexeritis, ut reliquis Italie civitatibus diligentia vestra exemplo essetis et ob id ad mittendum promptiores celerioresque redderentur. Iam vero nonnullorum Germanie principum ac regis Hungarie et Aragonum oratores advenerunt. Alii quoque ducis Burgundie diversorumque dominorum propediem affuturi sunt. Quocirca iterum atque iterum vos hortamur in domino et districte requirimus, ut pro tam pio tamque salutifero catholice fidei opere perficiendo debitum vestrum diutius remorari nolitis. Sed illud quantocius fieri potest diligenter implere studeatis, quod sumopere desideramus et a vobis instanter deposcimus. Dat. Mantuae sub anulo pisc. die xxviii. Julii, 1459 pontif. nostri anno primo.

[Original in the State Archives, Bologna.]

18. Pope Pius II. to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1459, July 29, Mantua.

The Pope insists on the importance of the Duke's presence. Nam cum auctoritas tua magna sit et consilium etiam sapiens,

* See *supra*, p. 219. † See *supra*, p. 58. ‡ See *supra*, p. 73.

speramus te praesente ac considente omnia ex nostro desiderio efficacius successura.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 58b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

19. Pope Pius II. to Diether of Isenburg.*

1459, July 31, Mantua.

Comiti de Ysemburg. Dilecte fili, &c. Intelleximus te proxime ad Moguntinam ecclesiam electum fuisse et oratores iam destinasse qui ad procurandam illius confirmacionem accedant. Significamus tibi necessarium esse ut tu personaliter venias et presens ab apostolica sede hoc impetres. Nos enim aliter daturi illam non sumus. Si qui sunt qui contrarium consulunt in errore versantur . . . Si veneris invenies nos ad omnia promptos quae honorem et utilitatem tuam concernant. Si minus necesse erit intelligas veritatem mendacio preferendam fuisse

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 60. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

20. Pope Pius II. to Duke Louis of Savoy.†

1459, August 6, Mantua.

Expectavimus usque in praesentem diem oratores tue nobilitatis quos te missurum iam dudum promiseras. Here follows an urgent request that they should at last be sent.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 60b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

21. Pope Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg.‡

1459, August 13, Mantua.

The Pope counts up the many summonses to Mantua already addressed to him and the other Princes—all, however, in vain. He expects him by the Feast of St. Martin hac sola de causa hic moraturi. Et propterea etiam atque etiam per viscera misericordie Dei nostri nobilitatem tuam per has ultimas nostras requirimus et monemus tibique quia ita salus fidelis populi postulat expresse mandamus ut intra hunc terminum personaliter velis adesse. Cum enim usque ad eam diem propter Germanos solos expectaturi hic sumus, cederet non solum tibi sed toti nacioni ad confusionem non parvam in tempore non accessisse.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 62b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 166. † See *supra*, p. 87. ‡ See *supra*, p. 97.

22. Pope Pius II. to Diether of Isenburg.*

1459, August 13, Mantua.

Diethero de Isemburg, canonico Moguntino. Requisivimus, &c. He has already, by Briefs, required him personally to attend the Congress at Mantua. This summons is hereby repeated. Dat. Mantuae xiii. Augusti A° 1°.

[Cop. Plut. LXXXX. Supp. Cod. 138, N. 17 of the Laurentian Library at Florence.]

23. Pope Pius II. to the Cathedral Chapter of Mayence.†

1459, August 13, Mantua.

Capitulo ecclesiae Moguntinae.

Dilecti filii salutem. Cum dietam hanc Mantuanam pro defensione christianae fidei indixerimus, requisivimus bo. me. Theodericum archiepiscopum Moguntinum tunc in humanis agentem ut cum aliis Christi fidelibus principibus conveniret. Evenit ut interim sicut Deo placuit, ipse hac vita functus est. Ob quam rem vos provide agentes ad successoris electionem processistis atque dilectum filium Dietherum de Ysemburg elegistis qui ad nos pro electionis confirmatione misit. Nos considerantes quantum utilitatis allatura sit christianae religioni haec dieta, si principes et prelati conveniant, deliberavimus eum requirere ut ad nos veniret tam pro confirmatione quam pro facto fidei. Et ita literis nostris sibi scripsimus. Hortamur igitur et requirimus devotionem vestram ut ei persuadeatis ut ad nos quantocius veniat. Quod si effeceritis ultra universale bonum fidei et sibi et ecclesiae vestrae rem utilem facietis. Dat. Mantuae sub anulo piscatoris xiii. Augusti, pontif. nostri anno primo.

[Cap. Cod. LXXXX.–138, N. 16 of the Laurentian Library, Florence.]

24. Pope Pius II. to Florence.‡

1459, August 19, Mantua.

Non cessavimus usque in praesentem diem quotidianis precibus

* See *supra*, p. 166.

† See *supra*, p. 166, and Pii II. Comment. 65.

‡ See *supra*, p. 69.

ad mittendos oratores vos adhortari *—but all has been in vain. As the business of the Congress commences at the beginning of next month, requirimus in conspectu Dei et hominum rem publicam vestram ut eo tempore suos oratores cum pleno mandato curet hic esse.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 68. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Pope Pius II. to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1459, August 25, Mantua.

Quia dil. fil. nob. vir dux Clivensis omnibus horis super discessu suo apud nos instat necessarias causas ostendens quibus ad redeundum impellitur, quia eciam nos ab eo cum difficultate impetravimus ut ad longius usque ad diem sextam Septembris expectare hic vellet: ideo nobilitatem tuam quanto maiore studio possumus hortamur atque requirimus ut pro summa consolacione nostra et felici principio rerum pro fide agendarum ad minus circa secundam vel terciam diem mensis eiusdem ceteris posthabitis cures hic esse . . .

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 70b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

26. Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg.‡

1459, September 9, Mantua.

. . . Ceterum vehementer admiramur quod tua nobilitas nihil nobis rescribit de suo adventu ad dietam. Here follows an urgent request that he would appear in person at Mantua; the Congress there exceeds all others in importance. Dat. Mantuae ix. Sept. A° 2°.

[Florence, Laurentian Library. Plut. LXXXX. Supp. Cod. 138, N. 28.]

27. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.§

1459, September 26, Mantua.

Illustrissima et ex. domina consors nostra precordialissima. Hersera recevessemo una littera de la Sig^ria Vostra di sua mano

* See particulars from the State Archives, Florence, *supra*, p. 69.

† See *supra*, p. 72. ‡ See *supra*, p. 97. § See *supra*, pp. 75 and 78.

a la quale al presenta non possemo fare resposta, ma domane gli responderimo al tucto et maxime la chiarerimo quando sera el partire nostro de qui et la casone perche non possemo respondervi de nostra mano questo dì si e che come scripsimo heri a la Sig^ria Vostra questa matina la S^ta de Nostro Sig^re tra le XII et XIII hore fece dire una messa del spirito sancto in canto nel domo: dove et lo ill. Sig^re lo Marchese et nuy depoy la S^ta de N. Sig^re fussemo li primi et fornita la messa posto a sedere N. Sig^re in pontificale et cossi tucti li sig^ri et ambax^ri de christiani che se troveno qui in li lochi loro con li rev^mi Sig^ri cardinali in publico in essa chiesia dove era un grandissimo numero de gente d'ogni natione: el prefato N. Sig^re pronuntio una longa et ornatissima oratione quale duro per spacio de due hore in la quale tra molte altre cose el confortò ogniuno a limpresa contra el Turcho et finita la sua oratione ne recitò un altra el cardinale Niceno quale la tenne una hora: per la quale confirmando quello che havia dicto N. Sig^re persuadete per parte de tucti li . . . cardinali a tucti quelli quali erano presenti a la dicta impresa; dapoy resposero tucti li . . . ambaxatori regali per parte de li loro sig^ri et cossi tucti li altri ambaxatori et etiando nuy respondessemo in persona che eramo apparechiati a seguire la volunta de la S^ta Sua et tandem fu concluso che limpresa omnino se debia prendere contra dicto Turcho; de qui inanci mo privatamente et non piu in publico se tractara del modo se havera a servare in pigliare dicta impresa. Li . . . ambaxatori del duca de Borgogna hanno offerto per parte del suo sig^re incomenzando dal principio dela guerra fin al fine de voler tenere a sue spese IIII^m fanti et II^m cavalli. Et de quello che piu ultra se fara la Sig^ria Vostra continuamente ne sera advisata. Altro non diamo se non che ne recomandiamo a la Sig^ria V. la quale advisamo come per gratia de Dio stiamo bene. Dat. Mantuae xxvi. Septembris, 1459. . .

Franciscus Sfortia vicecomes dux Mediolani

Papie Anglerieque comes et Cremone dominus.

[A tergo: Address]

JOHANNES.

[Original in State Archives, Milan.]

28. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.*

1459, Sept. 29, Mantua.

Illustrissima et ex. domina consors nostra precordialissima.

Non se meravigli la Sig. V. se ne heri ne hogi noy li havimo scripto di nostra mano: perche sonno tante loccupatione che nuy havimo et maxime adesso che semo al fine del nostro stare qui et per partirne che non ne avanza pur el tempo ad poter manzare. Nuy con el nome de Dio havimo deliberato partirne de qui o lunedi o martedi al piu longo et questo non manchera et per la gratia desso dio stiamo bene de la persona et attendemo tucta volta ad expedirne qui a le cose che havimo affare et speramo chel tucto passara optimamente. Mantuae xxviiii. Septembris, 1459, hora quinta noctis.

Franciscus Sforza vicecomes dux Mediolani
Papie Anglerieque comes ac Cremone dominus.

[A tergo : Address]

Johannes.

[Original in State Archives at Milan.]

29. Pope Pius II. to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg.†

1459, September 30, Mantua.

He praises him, and rejoices that he has appointed a time when he may be expected in Mantua. Expresses great hopes for the progress of the Congress.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 79b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

30. Pope Pius II. to Duke Louis of Savoy.‡

[1459, September 30, Mantua.§]

Nescimus utrum magis miremur an doleamus quod tocies ad conventum hunc Mantuanum pro fide Dei nostri vocatus usque in hanc diem non veneris nec oratores tuos transmiseris. . . . He must, at last, send Ambassadors provided with full powers.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 80b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 75. † See *supra*, p. 97. ‡ See *supra*, p. 87.
§ The Brief is without date, but is of the same day as the preceding one.

31. Nicolaus Severinus and Lodovicus de Petronibus to the Republic of Siena.*

1459, October 1, Mantua.

Yesterday, "a hore xx," the whole Italian Nation was assembled. Proposal of tithes, twentieth and thirtieth parts for the Turkish war. Volse S. S^ta^ che ciascuno si soscrivesse propriis manibus cominciando dallo s^mo^ principe duca di milano et cosi di mano in mano tutti quelli ch'erano presenti excepto li ambasciatori della s^ma^ S^ria^ di Venetia per li quali e stato lassato lo spacio che benche habbino el mandato dicano non extendersi a questo, ma che anno scripto a la S^ria^ da la quale in 4 giorni aspectano resposta et tengano certissimo che di niente discreparanno dagl' altri. Per li Fiorentini promisse el s. pontifice et etiandio lo s^mo^ duca di Milano, li quali finalmente dicano in brevi di aspectano resposta; crediamo che sia per imitare i Vinitiani. Era, m^ci^ S. N., tutta la corta da hieri in la opinione et proposito di partire subito et cosi si credeva. But in the last Assembly the Pope declared that he must still wait for a very powerful Prince from Germany,† who would come at Martinmas. This Prince will furnish numerous troops for the expedition. When some one respectfully said to the Pope that people had expected him to set forth sooner, Pius II. answered: che per bene et salute de la christianita bisognava differire questo tempo secondo la sua declaratione. The Duke of Milan will start in a few days.

[Original in State Archives, Siena.]

32. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.‡

1459, Oct. 1,§ Mantua.

. Siamo stati da le xxii. hore fin a le due hore di nocte con la S^ta^ de N. S^re^ con la quale havimo tractato cose private et particulare et havimo tolto licentia al fine di essa Sua S^ta^ con intentione de partirne de qui dimane

[Original in State Archives, Milan.]

* See *supra*, p. 84.

† This must be Albert Achilles of Brandenburg; see *supra*, p. 391.

‡ See *supra*, p. 75. § Hora vi. noctis.

33. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to his Consort, Bianca Maria.*

1459, October 2, Mantua.

Come scripsimo hersera a la Sig. V. hogi havimo tolto licentia de la S^ta^ de N. S^re^ et da tucto el collegio de li rev. sig. cardinali quali a posta facta erano congregati ne la camera de la prefata S^ta^ de N. S.

[Original in State Archives, Milan.]

34. Pope Pius II. to Johannes Antonius of Spoleto, Senator of the City of Rome.†

1459, November 27, Mantua.

Dilecte fili salutem. Cum propter fidei christianae succursum ad hunc Mantuanum conventum dimissa alma urbe nostra venerimus, nihil gratius audire possimus in hac nostra absentia quam urbem ipsam bene et juste gubernari et sub frenis iustitiae compesci audaciam eorum qui scandala et turbulentias quaerunt. Unde cum varii ad nos rumores proferantur multa et graviora scelera in urbe predicta committi ex quibus commotiones et scandala graviora sequi formidantur nisi diligens provisio adhibeatur, volumus et tibi inquantum gratiam nostram caram habes precipiendo mandamus quatenus in his totis sensibus invigiles et te fore virum ostendas et contra sceleratos et malefactores acriter procedas et iustitiae rigore illos coherceas, ita quod urbs ipsa quam maxime tuis opibus et diligentia eiusmodi sceleratis et malefactoribus purgetur. Nec comittas ut de negligentia aut lentitudine notari possis: quia tibi dedecori esset et nobis summe displiceret. Datum Mantuae sub anulo piscatoris xxvii. Novembris anno 1459, pontif. nostri secundo.

[Copy in Laurentian Library, Florence.]

35. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.‡

1459, Dec. 1, Mantua.

Ill^me^ princeps et ex^me^ domine d. mi sing^me^. Heri hebbero

* See *supra*, p. 75.

† Voigt, III., 146, is to be corrected by this Letter; see *supra*, p. 106.

‡ See *supra*, p. 90.

audientia da la S^ta^ de N. S^ta^ questi ambasiatori francessi cio he quelli de serenissimo re de Franza, del re Renato et Genoesi quali sono tuti una mistura et erano presenti il Marchese de Baden nomine suo non come ambasiatore de lo imperatore et niuno de li altri ambasiatori imperali ce fu, ma luy se dice fu richiesto come parente del re Renato. Il S^re^ duca Sigismundo, quantunque como parente de la casa de Franza fusse stato richiesto, heri matina parti asay a la sproveduta et dicemi il s^re^ Marchese de Mantua crede partisse forsi piu tosto che non seria per non essere a questo atto et cosi he partito etiam senza decisione de la causa qual ha cum lo rev^mo^ card^e^ de san Petro a vincula.* Ce fureno ancora presenti li ambasiatori de Bretagna et quelli de Savoya et tuti li card^li^; li ambasiatori Venetiani et Borgognoni non ce fureno. Parlò un de li ambasiatori del cristianissimo re de Franza, il quale he baylivio de una cita de la quale non mi ricordo il nome et in substantia disse comme antiquamente lo regno de Napoli era de la casa de Franza, narrando qual fu il primo re investito de quello, et da qual summo pontifice et poy successive tute le investiture a quelli de la casa de Franza fatte per li summi pontifici; poy venne a la querella che questo summo pontifice havesse investito et coronato questo s. re Ferrando per un legato de la sede apostolica et fatto confortare li regnicoli a la devotione desso re Ferrando cum tanta iniuria de la casa de Franza. Inseri ancora che adesso se diceva che Sua S^ta^ non contenta de questo cerchava cum le arme impedire il conte Jacobo che non potesse andare a li favori loro in lo regno, il che se vero fusse, seria grande iniquita, per la qual cosa essi ambasiatori francesi et li altri che erano li in sua compagnia supplicaveno a Sua Beatitudine se dignasse restaurando le iniurie a loro fatte rivocare ogni cosa concessa a don Ferrando, il quale per niuna rasone deve essere re de quello regno, et concedere nova investitura al re Renato, al quale de rason spetta, et dovesse Sua S^ta^ mandare un suo legato in lo regno a confortare quelli regnicoli a la devotione del re Renato et de la casa de Franza come apartene a boni et veri vassali et subditi che sono de la ditta casa, et cosi facendo li parera essere restaurati dogni iniuria et danno loro. Questo me he ditto fu il suo parlar in affetto, poy se scusa et dimandò venia se manco reverentemente et

* Nich. of Cusa; see *supra*, p. 90.

cum manco modestia o prudentia haveva parlato perche lanimo suo non era de dir cosa che fusse ingrata a Sua S^ta^ La B^ne^ sua havendoli cum grande pacientia ascoltati cum grandissima modestia li rispose cum poche et grave parole, reasumendo quello che ditto haveveno molto distinctamente: dicendo che quantunque a la magior parte de queste cose li fusse la risposta asay promta, non dimeno per che la cosa era de natura sua ponderosa et grave et era costume de Sua S^ta^ in rebus arduis uti consilio et participatione fratrum suorum non voleva prima rispondere che havesse communicato et partecipato questo cum card^li^, cum li quali fin a qui Sua S^ta^ haveva partecipato simile cose, et maxime in questa causa in la quale haveva fatto ogni cosa de consilio et consensu omnium; et questo disse Sua B^ne^ per tochare li card^li^ de Roan* et de Vignon† quali così li hanno consentito come li altri. Item disse che ancora ricordava a loro il solito ritto de corte, qual era in simile cose de importantia dare in scritto la propositione et dimanda che se fa, a cio che ancora se li dara risposta in scritto et data che havessero tal dimanda Sua B^ne^ habita participatione cum cardinalibus li daria tal risposta che se contentariano overo meritamente se dovriano contentare; et cosi se crede che questoro daranno in scritto et Sua S^ta^ in scritto li rispondera et forsi anchora a bocha. Questa matina la S^ta^ de nostro S^re^ ha fatto la signatura publica ut moris est, da poy il disnare he stato in dare audientia a li ambasiatori imperiali et altri Alamani, et sul hora tarda a quelli de Bretagna il che sera durato fin a grande hora de notte (what follows is unimportant). Dat. Mantue primo Decembre, 1459.

Ill^me^ D. V.

Servit. Otho de Carreto.

[Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

36. Pope Pius II. to the Conservators of the City of Rome.‡

1460, Jan. 30, Poggibonsi.

Accepimus litteras vestras in quibus cum desiderare vos cernimus reditum nostrum non possumus non laudare devocionem vestram et filialem caritatem qua nos complecti videmini. Est

* d'Estouteville. † Alain. ‡ See *supra*, p. 106.

Nobis ad reditum par desiderium vicissimque vobiscum esse et nostram sedem revisere summe optamus. But, by the advice of the physicians, he must rest a while in Siena and Petriolo after his exertions at the assembly at Mantua. They must, accordingly, have patience for a little.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 98b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

37. Pope Pius II. to Philip, Duke of Burgundy.*

1460, March 7, Siena.

At the request of the Duke he has neglected no effort to promote the Bishop of Arras, J. Jouffroy, to the purple, but the necessary consent of the Cardinals was wanting. The Cardinals would have no Ultramontanes, for which reason the petitions of the Kings of France and Aragon, and of the Duke of Savoy, also remain unsatisfied. He gives the Duke hopes for the future.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 127b–128. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

38. Pope Pius II. to Charles VII., King of France.†

[1460, March], Siena.

Car. in Christo fili, &c. Miramur non parum oratorem nostrum quem pro rebus fidei christiane ad tuam cels. misimus sine ullo responso tot iam menses istic detineri. Est hoc grave publicis rebus quarum gratia venit. Est nobis molestum qui tuos ad curiam venientes benigne expedire conamur. Proinde hortamur ser. tuam in domino et rogamus ut pro honore nostro et suo velit illum celeriter expedire et ad nos cum bona conclusione remittere. Convenit hoc nomini tuo qui christianissimus diceris et nobis qui nihil praeter utilitatem publicam quaerimus erit magnopere gratum. Dat. Senis.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 130. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

39. Pope Pius II. to Duke Borso of Modena.‡

1460, April 1, Siena.

Intelleximus nobilitatem tuam hactenus noluisse permittere ut littere apostolice super decimis, vigesimis et trigesimis in dicione

* See *supra*, p. 136. † See *supra*, p. 133. ‡ See *supra*, p. 242.

tua publicentur et illarum executio fiat, de quo satis miramur, cum tales dilationes christianis rebus sint valde contrarie, propterea hortamur ut quid circa hoc facere intendas nobis per presentem nuncium plene rescribas. Dat. Senis i. Aprilis A° 2°.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 153b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

40. Pope Pius II. to Ferrante, King of Naples.*

1460, April 15, Siena.

Cum usque in presentem diem sine ullo respectu imo cum gravi onere nostro egerimus quaecunque ad dignitatem et conservacionem status tui pertinere putavimus idque tibi notum esse non dubitamus, miramur quod in tradenda arce Castilioni quam fecimus pro nepote nostro a te postulari tanta dilacione utaris. Pius hopes that the King's Officials alone are to blame for this.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 179b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

41. Antonio Ricao to Lodovico of Gonzaga.†

1460, Nov. 6, Florence.

. A Roma sono stati presi et subeto apicati 8 di quelli Romani scandalosi, Tiburtio principale nepote de M. Stefano Porcharj cum 7 compagni per loro summa bestialità et pazia; pare che uno loro compagno fusse preso; esso poi con 6 altri entrororo in Roma et andorono alla doghana et presono el economo, che è Senese; pare che lo menassero via dicendo per la via: andando noi faremo quello a costui che serà facto al compagno nostro, confortando el populo a levarsi et pigliare l'arme; furono seguitati et presi di fuori, da sera examinati, la matina apichati. Florentie vi. Novembr. 1460.

Antonius.

[Original in the State Archives, Mantua.]

42. Pope Pius II.'s Project of Reform.‡

[1460.]

[I.] De summo pontifice (f. 1–13). As Christ taught by word

* See *supra*, p. 106. † See *supra*, p. 112.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 245 and 275. Dr Glasschroeder has most kindly furnished me with a copy of a portion of this Bull which, unfortunately, was never issued. It begins with the words: "Pius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Ad futuram

and example so must the Pope. Before prescribing anything to the faithful he must take heed to himself. The most important and absolutely necessary thing in the Church of God is Faith, and therefore he, the Pope, will make his profession of Faith. This Faith of the Church he will keep pure and defend all his life. This present *Professio Fidei* is to be solemnly read aloud, during Mass, in the Cathedral Church of Siena, before the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court. Faith and Religion are threatened by the Turks, as also by other Infidels. Although, through the efforts of the enemy of mankind, the Congress of Mantua has not had the desired result, the Pope is of opinion that the war against the Infidels must not be abandoned, and still relies on the assistance of Christian Princes and people. In order that they may be able to devote themselves entirely to the Holy War, he will endeavour that peace and unity may reign among them. It will be his care to keep heresy and schism far from the flock entrusted to him, and to revive and promote piety and virtue in Christian peoples. In these manifestations of Christian life, he himself will lead the way with a good example. He will, to the utmost of his power, avoid avarice, from which the Roman Pontiffs are bound especially to flee, and all simony, which is the consequence of avarice. In short, he will labour, according to his power, to eschew all faults and vices, and to practise all virtues, so that he may, in all things, become like unto Him, whose place, unworthy though he be, he holds. Once at least in the week, he will, for the future, grant public audiences, and take special care that the poor shall be admitted and assisted. Should he himself be prevented, he will appoint a representative who will inform him of all that has passed. When he goes to worship God in public, people shall be allowed to speak to him on his way, and on his

rei memoriam. Pastor aeternus dominus noster Jesus Christus," &c. In the Index at the Commencement of the Codex, is the entry : "Generalis Romanae curiae reformatio facta tempore Pii PP. II." This document, which is drawn up in strictly legal style, is without a date. The mention of the failure of the Congress at Mantua, and the decision regarding the reading of the *Professio Fidei* in the Cathedral of Siena, points to the sojourn of the Pope in that city in the spring and summer of 1460 ; Pius II. did not come to Siena in 1461, 1462, and 1463, and only revisited it in February, 1464. The project of Reform cannot, however, belong to 1464, for Pius would, in that case, have mentioned his intention of personally taking part in the Crusade.

return, and to present petitions. He will order his appearance, his manner of life, and the style of his Court, so as neither to give offence by excessive splendour, nor make himself contemptible by meanness. He will only suffer upright men in his Palace, and will strive to fill all the places in his Court with the men who are most fitted for them. Jugglers, actors, musicians, and such frivolous persons, will not be tolerated in the Palace. He will not alienate or pledge Cities, fortresses and Castles, or impose new taxes and tributes in the States of the Church, without the knowledge and consent of the Sacred College. The Commandants of Castles are to be bound by oath, on the occasion of a vacancy of the Holy See, to give up the Castles, when required, to the Cardinals or to the newly-elected Pope, even if pay should still be due to them. Governors of Cities, and Cardinals who rule Provinces of the States of the Church as *Legati a latere*, are yearly to render an account to Papal Syndics deputed for the purpose. If they transgress in any way they are to be brought to account. The Pope promises to recognise all privileges and rights conferred by his predecessors, unless compelled to abolish them by the ingratitude of the recipients; also not to make war against any Christian Princes or people without the consent of the Sacred College. Inasmuch as the Cardinals are, as it were, members of the Pope's body, he will promote none but worthy men to the purple. They must be born in lawful wedlock, at least thirty years of age, Doctors of Theology or of Canon Law, of blameless life, and experienced in business. In the case of the so-called Crown Cardinals (sons, nephews, and nominees of Princes), an ordinary education (mediocris litteratura) shall suffice. Two brothers, a nephew and uncle, or two members of the same mendicant order, are not at the same time to belong to the Sacred College. He wished to guard against the formation of too many parties in it, and, in the nomination of Cardinals, as far as possible, to consider all nations, and to appoint only those approved by the majority in the College (fratrum vota non auriculariter, ut olim servari consuevit, sed collegialiter accipiemus).

[II.] De cardinalibus (f. 13b–18). The Cardinals are to be distinguished from the rest of the faithful by the sanctity of their lives. If, by an evil life, any one of them should bring shame on his exalted position, he will have to reckon with the anger of the

Pope as well as with the chastening Hand of God. He will not suffer a bad example to be given by the Cardinals. On the contrary, they are to report in Consistory all abuses in Christendom and at the Court, and to provide remedies. Worldly considerations are never to interfere with the interests of the Catholic and Roman Church. Cardinals who, through princely favour and for their own benefit, seek and obtain any temporal advantage, shall be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated, and not absolved until they have renounced, in favour of the poor, what they had acquired. The management of all the most important affairs of the Church is to be committed to the Cardinals. Those who have been nominated previously to the Pontificate of Pius II. are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to have more than sixty servants and forty teams of horses; those created by Pius II. are limited to twenty servants and four teams, and must not possess any Benefice whose revenue exceeds 4000 golden florins. The Cardinals are forbidden to wear the Cappa rubea. None who belong to the Court may hunt or keep hounds. Banquets are prohibited; as far as etiquette requires, they may be given in honour of Princes or their Ambassadors, but, on these occasions, only music of a serious character is permitted. *Other strict injunctions concerning the conduct and style of living of the Cardinals follow.* With the exception of Consistories, Cardinals are not to come to the Apostolic Palace unless they are summoned.

[III.] De penitenciariis (f. 18–19). The Grand Penitentiary, who is a Cardinal, can at any time be removed by the Pope. He must be a Magister Theologiae or Doctor of Canon Law, and, at least, forty years of age.

[IV.] With regard to the officials, the conduct of business and the management of taxes *in the Papal Chancery and Treasury*, the Constitutions of John XXII., Benedict XII., and Martin V., are prescribed (f. 20–36).

[V.] Directions regarding the Cubicularii and Custodes, the Hostiarii virgae rubeae, the Servitores Armorum and Cursores, the Clerici et Cantores capellae, the Magister sacri Palatii (who is to be a Dominican), the Procurator and Advocatus fisci (f. 36–42).

[VI.] De moribus curialium (f. 42–46b). . . . Monemus ut in posterum omnem a se malorum suorum lubricitatem repellant, scurras, histriones, ioculatores, lusores atque omne genus infamium

personarum a domibus suis eiiciant atque ita se familiamque suam reforment ut habitationes eorum religiosorum receptacula videantur. Si quis curialium concubinam seu focariam aut aliam quamcunque feminam de fornicatione suspectam tenere inventus fuerit, si semel admonitus per auditorem camere aut aliquem ex officialibus honestatis, quorum infra mentio fiet, illam non dimiserit, omnibus ecclesiasticis beneficiis atque officiis ipso facto privatus existat illaque libera tamquam vacantia impetrentur. Si quis de incontinentia suspectus circa quodcunque vitium carnis admonitus ut supra, non se correxerit, omnibus beneficiis et officiis eccis privetur et ulterius iis poenis subiiciatur quae contra tales statutae reperiuntur. Si quis cum scorto repertus in colloquio fuerit in sua vel aliena domo, in aureis viginti condemnetur quorum decima accusatori cedant et quarta soldano. Curiales qui firmata curia in certo loco per tabernas vinarias discurrunt et in illis comedunt aut bibunt, nisi pauperes fuerint domum aut propriam habitationem non habentes, auditoris camere arbitrio puniantur. Quicunque aut Deum aut sanctos blasphemasse compertus fuerit, beneficiis atque officiis quibuscunque privetur, ecclesiasticis et aliis juris poenis subiiciatur; laici pro delictis suis officia quae obtinent in Romana curia perdant. Quicunque curialis episcopo minor pro pecunia in taxillis ludere praesumpserit, in aureis viginti apostolicae camerae condemnetur, episcopus autem aut eo maior in aureis centum quarta parte accusatori servata et eius nomine occultato. Qui ferro ligno lapide aliquem percusserit, nisi defensionis causa id fecerit, pro qualitate puniatur excessus et exul fiat a curia. Si quis curialium cuiusvis status etiam si S. R. E. cardinalis fuerit, nuncios aut litteras miserit cuipiam in derogationem aut denigrationem Romanae curiae aut Romani pontificis vel sacri collegii cardinalium, ipso facto excommunicationem incurrat et tanquam proditor et maiestatis reus puniatur nec absolvi possit nisi a Romano praesule et tunc expressa causa cur [in] excommunicationem inciderit.

Praelati etiam si cardinales fuerint duobus annulis sint contenti quorum alter dignitatis insigne, alter signandis litteris idoneus; qui plures extra missarum solemnia gestaverit, excommunicationi subiaceat et tanquam vanus et iactabundus infamiae notam incurrat. . . . Here follow directions for the reform of the dress of members of the Court. The obligation of residence is inculcated on Bishops, the number of their servants limited, and

the outward appearance of the same regulated. Precautions to ensure the election of worthy Bishops,—severe enactments against simony,—the Court officials are forbidden, under pain of excommunication and restitution, to take more than their appointed fees.

[VII.] De mercatoribus [sc. curiae], (f. 47). Regulations for the prevention of simoniacal elections.

[VIII.] De pluralitate beneficiorum (f. 47b–51). Only a Cardinal may have another Church besides that of his title, nisi duae pontificales ecclesiae prius unitae invicem fuerint. No Abbot is to have two Convents subject to him. The Bishops in Greece, Dalmatia, Croatia, Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, and Spain, whose incomes amount to at least 500 golden florins, are not to take any other benefice. Any deed conferring a benefice on such is invalid. Pari poena subiiciantur ultramontani episcopi quorum ecclesiae mille aureos residentibus reddunt nisi regum filii fuerint aut nepotes sive quarto gradu regio sanguine nati. A Convent, in which are eight or more inmates, is not to be given in Commendam. No Cardinal is to hold more than two or three Convents in Commendam; detailed regulations for the limitation of Commendams and Reservations, and for the carrying out of the Wills of Officials of the Papal Court, follow.

[IX.] De bullis apostolicis aegrotante papa factis (f. 51–51b). Arrangements to ensure that in such circumstances there should be no fraud.*

[X.] De oratoribus regum (f. 51b). Oratores regum et principum populorumque quorumcunque ecclesiasticorum ultra sex menses in Romana curia locum legatorum minime teneant, sed finito tempore aut domum redeant aut tanquam privati inter alios sui ordinis sedeant. While employed on active service, Legates are to hold no other office.

[XI.] De assistentibus (f. 51b–52). Rules regarding those immediately about the Pope; they are to be Bishops, and not above eight in number.

[XII.] De triumviris sive officialibus honestatis (f. 52–3), who are to see that the preceding ordinances are not contravened

* As had been the case during the last illness of Calixtus III.; see our Vol. II., p. 444.

by the members of the Roman Court. Transgressions on the part of Cardinals and Bishops are judged by the Pope.

[Copy in Cod. XXVII.–6, f. 1–53. Barberini Library, Rome.]

43. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.*

1461, March 9, Rome.

Sabato prox. passato che fu a VII. de questo entro qui el dispota de la Morea qual certo e un bel homo et ha uno bello et grave aspecto et bon modi et molto signorili; po havere da cinquanta sei anni. Havea in dosso una turcha de zambeloto† negro cum uno capello biancho peloso fodrato de cetanino‡ velutato negro cum una cerata intorno; per quello intendo havea LXX. cavalli et altretanti a piede, tucti cavalli prestati salvo che tre sono suoi. The Pope received him in Consistory, in the Camera del Papagolo, and shewed him great honour. He costs the Pope 300 ducats§ a month, and has an apartment at SS. Quattro Coronati.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

44. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga.‖

1461, March 16, Rome.

. . . . Qui in tucta la corte se rasona cosi caldamente de concilio come se fra octo di havesse a livare et da molti et prelati et altri sono sta domandato se è vero chel si faza a Mantua, io li respondo che non ne so cosa alcuna, ma quando fusse la sorte so ben ge seria acceptato Al palazo sento pur ne sta rasonato perche monsig. Niceno¶ ha scripto che tuta Alemagna el crida et seriase contenti se facesse in Italia et che in Franza non consentirano mai . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

45. Pope Pius II. to Aquila.**

1461, June 10, Rome.

A letter of sharp rebuke, with Scriptural allusions: Erexistis

* See *supra*, pp. 249–50. † See Heyd-Raynaud, II., 704. ‡ *Ibid.*, 702.
§ See Pii II. Comment. 130. ‖ See *supra*, pp. 194 and 197.
¶ Bessarion. ** See *supra*, p. 122.

cornua vestra in regem vestrum. At the conclusion the Pope threatens the people of Aquila.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 187b–188. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

46. Pope Pius II. to the Bishop of Aquila.*

1461, June 10, Rome.

De iis que Aquilani in dies contra regem suum et contra Romanam ecclesiam faciunt non caret tua fraternitas crimine. Tu cum prudens sis et auctoritatem in populo habeas, non putaris facere quod ad tuum officium pertinet Here follows an exhortation to amendment. He also writes, at the same time, to the inhabitants of Aquila :† the Bishop has now an opportunity of shewing whether he is for the Pope or not, he is to point out their misdeeds to his flock.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 188b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

47. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.‡

1461, June 29, Rome.

He speaks of S. Catherine of Siena's Canonisation and of George Podiebrad.§ Heri qui a li merli del castello fureno impichati dui de quelli fanti del castellano, uno Senese et l'altro de Urbino‖ et uno per li piedi, l'altro pur per il collo ; fu una grande demonstratione se dice voleano tore il castello . . .

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

48. Pope Pius II. to Bartolomeo Vitelleschi, Bishop of Corneto.¶

1461, July 6, Rome.

A letter of consolation in regard to the blow which had fallen on him. Credimus nullam tuam fuisse [in] his negligentiam Bono animo esto. He will soon send him troops. Opera est danda ut macula hec novo deleatur conatu.

[Lib. brev. 9, f. 189b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 122. † See N. 45. ‡ See *supra*, p. 115.

§ See *supra*, pp. 223 and 292.

‖ Regarding these worshippers of the Sun, see Æn. Sylv. Opp., 289.

¶ See *supra*, p. 120.

49. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1461, July 11, Rome.

Heri sera gionsi qua insieme col rev^mo cardinale de Thiano† et condussi lo S. Jacobo Savello alli pedi de la S^ta de N. S. in presentia d'alcuni s^ri cardinali et de molti prelati et infiniti cortesani et essendo con luy molti citadini Romani con grandissima reverentia et humilita dimando misericordia a N. S. il qual benignamente lo receve a gratia usandoli parole clementissime. La qual cosa de quanta alegreza et piacere sia stata a tutta questa cita et a questa corte non lo potrey scrivere. Idio ne sia laudato.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

50. Pope Pius II. to Bologna.‡

1461, Oct. 9, Rome.

Dilecti, &c. Littere vestre nobis reddite sunt ab ea quam de vobis spem animo conceperamus longe aliene. Putabamus vos tanquam devotos et fideles subditos nostros nihil passuros quod in nos ne dicamus facto, sed simplici verbo committeretur ac pro statu nostro ut debetis arma ad minimumque usque sumpturos facultates et vitam in discrimine ubi opus esset posituros nullo respectu habito. Verum longe decepti videmur quod pro status nostri proditore quasi pro amico interceditis et picturam in eius ignominiam fieri vix pati potestis quem hostem et rebellem nostrum esse non ignoratis. Proinde respondemus nostre intentionis esse picturam in proditoris ignominiam fieri et quidem Bononie si quicquam in ea civitate que nostra est vel minimum possumus nec vobis imputari potest quod in civitate nostra fieri iussimus. Datum Rome apud s. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die ix. Octobris 1461, P. N. A. IIII°.

† G. de Piccolomin. †

[Original in the State Archives, Bologne. Lib. Q. 3, f. 53.]

51. Bartolomeo Bonatto to Lodovico de Gonzaga.§

1461, Oct. 16, Rome.

Regarding Queen Charlotte of Cyprus: Qui starala cinque o sei

* See *supra*, p. 115.

‡ See *supra*, p. 117.

† Fortiguerra.

§ See *supra*, p. 253.

di per quello intendo; è allogiata in palazo—her maintenance will be paid for, and she will be greatly honoured: ge andorno incontra nove cardinali et cinque fin alla nave sua che era de sotto de s. Paulo et quatro fin alla porta

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

52. Martinus Suardus to Lodovico de Gonzaga.*

1461, Nov. 11, Florence.

. . . . Heri circa ore XXII la regina di Cipri entro in questa [citta].†

She was much honoured. Era vestita de una veste di colore beretino cum maniche picole. La portatura de la testa tanto dimessa e del collo et della gola che a me pareva videre una suore, non che una regina, ma altremente e bella e giovene de ettade de XXI. o XXII. anni; vero che la tiene un puocho del bruno.‡

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

53. Gregorio Lolli to Siena.§

1461, Dec. 26, Rome.

Magnifici, &c. A questi di passati mandai a la M. S. V. la copia d'una lettera del re di Francia. Dapoi e seguito che col ultimo di Novembre la Maestà sua nel suo grande consiglio assistenti prelati et vari signori insieme con li ambasciadori de le provincie di Francia ad honore di Dio et de la sede apostolica et di papa Pio

* See *supra*, p. 253.

† See Ricordi di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini, LXXXIX. Reumont, Lorenzo I., 129, 2nd ed., is much mistaken in making the Queen journey from Florence to Rome. See *supra*, N. 51. To complete Mas-Latrie's account, III., 114 *seq.*, I will add the following dates regarding Charlotte's journey: 20–22 Nov. at Bologna, see Cronica di Bologna, 742, and *Ghirardacci (Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna); 28 Nov. in Piacenza, see Annal. Placent., 906. In the year 1462 the Queen entered Mantua on the 18th July, and left it on the 14th August for Venice (Schivenoglia, 150). The unfortunate lady's letter, cited *supra*, p. 255, bears out these particulars. Regarding Charlotte's negotiations with Venice, 1462, see *Sen. Secr., XXI., f. 105 *seq.* State Archives, Venice.

‡ In the *Letter of the 16th Oct., 1461, mentioned *supra*, p. 253, Giac. Chicio describes Charlotte as follows: "La statura sua bona piu tosto grande che mediocre, di colore bruno, la fronte per rispecto a la compositione de tuto il corpo pichola, assai li ochgii e di laude degni." Gonzaga Archives.

§ See *supra*, p. 140.

ha tolta la pragmatica, la quale piu pontefici antecessori di N. S. non hanno possuta tollare. È la maggior novella che potesse havere la sede apostolica, perchè in uno tracto a acquistato un regno tale quale è quello di Francia, et ha integra obedientia di tutti li christiani. È da rendere gratie a Dio che al tempo d'uno papa senese habbi tanto exaltata santa Chiesa. Ecci anchora non piccola utilità de la patria nostra perchè la strada si duplicara nel venire de cortigiani. Et acciò che intendiate tutto et come la Maestà del re di Francia ha tutto dato ala Santità di N. S. senza alcuno riservo vi mando la copia di due lettere l'una del cardinale di Constantia, l'altra del veschovo Atrebantense nuovo cardinale.* Dio sia lodato d'ogni cosa, che tante gloriose cose ha fatto et fa tutto ne la persona del nostro pontefice . . . Rome die xxvi. Decembris MCCCCLXI.

M. D. V. Servitor,

G. de Piccolomnibus.

[A tergo :] Address.

[Original in the State Archives, Siena. Concist. Lett. ad an.]

54. Pope Pius II. to Frankfort on Maine.†

1462, Jan. 10, Rome.

Pius episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis Magistris civium et consulatui ac communitati civitatis Frankforden. salutem et apost. ben.

Non dubitamus vos iampridem scire iniquitatis filium Dietherum de Isemburg ob graves excessus inobedientiam et demerita sua iusto iudicio privatum ecclesia Moguntin. fuisse et excommunicatum. Propterea devotionem vestram in domino exhortamur requirimus et monemus ut si forte vos vel Dietherus ipse vel adherentes et complices sui ad participationem ac societatem peccati et scandali viam vocarent, ipsos audire nolitis, sed potius illos ad erroris emendationem inducere ac iusticie et honori Roman. sedis et saluti Moguntin. ecclesie assistere ac totis viribus consulere et favere nitamini, mandantes nichilominus vobis in vim sancte obedientie et pro ea quam nobis et apostolice sedi reveren-

* This letter is preserved in Fonds Lat., 4154, f. 148, of the National Library, Paris, and was published from the original by Fierville, 246–47.

† See *supra*, p. 205.

tiam debetis quatenus prefato Diethero adherentibusque et complicibus ac sequacibus suis quocunque nomine censeantur neque auxilium neque consilium neque favorem neque assistentiam ullam nec denique suffragium aliquod verbo vel scripto vel opere [di] recte vel indirecte aut aliquo quesito colore impendatis impendive faciatis, quinymo dilecto filio Adolfo de Nassaw vero et indubitato electo Moguntin. et adherentibus ac fautoribus suis omni favore et auxilio possibili assistatis et pro honore nostro et dicte ecclesie salute illum constanter iuvetis; facietis rem placentem Deo, dignam populo fideli et nobis admodum caram qui pro bono publico et ad corrigendam malignantium pravitatem remedia huiusmodi querimus. Datum Rome apud s. Petrum anno incarnationis dominice 1461° quarto id. Januar. pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

G. de Porris.

[On the lower margin :]

Presentata in die S. Gertrudis anno LXII.

[A tergo :]

Dilectis filiis magistris civium et consulatui ac communitati civitatis Frankforden.

[Original, with leaden seal attached to it, in City Archives at Frankfort on Maine. Rechtsangelegenheiten betreffendes 5293.]

55. Ludovicus Petronius to Siena.*

1462, March 17, Rome.

The French ambassadors have done homage, and repealed the Pragmatic Sanction, et qua n'è facto festa et processione con molta allegreza.† E ben vero che a due parti non fu resposto per lo s. pontefice, lo quale respose si gloriosamente che fu piu presto cosa divina che humana et con admiratione di ciaschuno racontando quasi tucte le storie et tucti i gesti di casa di Francia et non fu resposto alla parte di Genova et alla parte del regno

[Original in the State Archives, Siena.]

* See *supra*, p. 151.

† That the Pragmatic Sanction was delivered up, and dragged through the streets of Rome (Daunou, 275), is not mentioned in this or any other Ambassador's Report. Voigt, III., 197, justly rejected the story in 1869, which, however, does not prevent Friedberg, Grenzen, II., 490, again bringing it before his readers.

56. Sigismondo Malatesta to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1462, March 26, Rimini.

. . . . Apreso io so advixato che la S^ta^ de N. S. ha fatto alchuni versi contro di me et in mia ignominia et quilli ha mandato a Fiorenza a farli ligare. Et perche determino fare como quello che disse: honorem meum nemini dabo, ho voluto prima advixarne la V. Ill^ma^ S. como a mio signore per farli intendere che el mio animo non sia de comportare simile cose etiam che Sua S^ta^ me sia signore et io li sia vicario et servo. Quando simile cose se spandano fora et quanto io potro me sforzaro: essendo offeso cum la penna offendere altri in quello medesimo modo; se cum la spada me ingegnaro similiter deffendermi cum la spada usque ad mortem, perche quantunque io sia povero homo, tutta fiada me recordaro de quello ditto che dice: uno bello morire tutta una vita honora. He wished to make this communication to the Duke, so that he might not be able afterwards to say: Sigismondo, you ought not to have kept this thing from me.

[Original in the State Archives, Milan.]

57. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.†

1463, Jan. 13, Rome.

The Pope relates to the ambassador the news brought by Antonio de Noceto from France. Esso Antonio ce scrive molte cose de le menaze che fanno li signori et prelati de Franza, et come ogniuno ne vole male excepto lo re; ce scrive come li trova un messer Antonio di natione Galico, ma stato gran tempo in Ungaria et Boemia, il quale gia fu qui in corte per parte del re de Boemia, et quando il vescovo de Ferrara torno de Franza, lo trovo a Milano che era li come ambasiatore del prefato re de Boemia, ac etiam de li re d'Ungaria et de Polonia, questo tale è al presente in Franza, et per parte de li prefati tre re ha suaso et confortato la M^ta^ del re de Franza a levarci la obedientia et tornare la pragmatica et a fare concilio, con ciò sia cosa che dica noy esser tanto apassionati in questa impresa del regno per nostra specialita, che non attendemo a le cose del Turcho pro defensione fidei, et che nuy siamo capitali inimici de la casa de Franza, et che in Ala-

* See *supra*, p. 125.

† See *supra*, p. 238.

magnia et in altre parte havemo molti nemici per nostro difetto, et che volendo sua M^ta^ farsi capo de questi come se conveniva per riformare la chiesia et provedere a la defensione de la fede de Christo, li prefati tre re et cosi molti altri signori d'Alamagnia et d'altre provintie lo seguitareno; et grande instantia ha fatto circa di cio. La M^ta^ del re li ha data repulsa, il che vedendo lui e itto al re Renato, et fatto instantia cum lui, lo quale ha mandata sua ambasiata a la M^ta^ del re de Franza a confortarlo a questo, et cosi molti prelati et s^ri^ di Franza lo conforteno; fin a qui sua M^ta^ non li ha data risposta et stasse alquanto suspeso.

[Original in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cod. Z.–219, Supp.]

58. Nicodemus of Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

1463, Aug. 7, Florence.

. . . Qui fo heri matina la rotta data per larmata eclesiastica ad quella de S. Sigismondo: heri sera vi fo che doe galee Ven^e^ hanno recuperata parte de larmata perduta per Malatesti et che a la scoperta fano contro N. S.; pare stranio qui ad ognuno quel fano Ven^i^ et tiensi non habino facto tanto apparato, se non ad fine de renovar la intelligentia col Turco cum megliore conditione e trovarsi in ordine ad fine de disponer la voglia loro de l'empresa del reame et de Malatesti: ex consequenti de Ytalia, quando N. S. Dio disponesse max^e^ chiamar ad se N. S^re^, V. Cel e Cosimo . . .

[Original in the State Archives, Milan. Cart. Gen.]

59. Giov. Pietro Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara of Mantua.†

1463, Oct. 4, Rome.

Illustrissima madonna mia. . . . De Franza ogni di se sentono gran novelle. Pare chel re habbi fatto condanare nel parlamento a Pariso el r^mo^ mon. de Constantia‡ in circa X^m^ ducati: facendo gran menaze se in un certo tempo non li haverà pagati e fatto revocar un breve che haveva mandato per una abbatia chel litigava; ha tuolto al r^mo^ mons. d'Avignone tuto le stato temporale perchè favoreva la pratica d'un vescovo contra la voluntate desso

* See *supra*, p. 127.

† See *supra*, p. 155, and Voigt, III., 204 *seq.*; also Cugnoni, 134 *seq.*

‡ See, on this subject, Fierville, 134.

re, e se non desiste da questa impresa menacia de tuorli tuti suoi beneficij de Franza : ha facto certi edicti che nel regno suo niuno sotto pena de la vita olsi de exequire alcuna lettera apostolica o sia bulla ne appellarse in causa alcuna a la corte Romana. Credese anche innovarà la pragmatica ; scrive a N. S. lettere terribilissime in favore de Atrebatensis mostrando che da S. S^te^ è malvogluito perchè fa li facti suoi. Ricorda a Roano e Lebreto che lo vogliano honorare se hanno cara la gratia sua. Dicesi che esso Atrebatense vole andare in Franza fina VIII. di e già ha fatto ligare la più parte de le sue cose. Sel va, dubito serà cagione de gran scandali. Questi di è morto el duca de Colona fratello che foe del Card^le^. . . . Rome iiii.° Octobr. MCCCCLXIII.

Servitor Jo. Petrus Arrivabenus.

[Original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

60. Pope Pius II. to Bishop Ernest of Hildesheim.*

1463, Nov. 10, Rome.

He informs him that the Archbishop of Mayence will furnish him with an authentic copy of the Bull recently issued, and commands him to publish this Bull and to take care, ut omnia fiant quae et desiderii nostri intelligas et ad nos adiuvandos conducant.

[Copy in the Cathedral Library, Trèves. Cod. 33, f. 1.]

61. Archbishop Adolph of Mayence to Bishop Ernest of Hildesheim.†

1464, Jan. 31, Mayence.

. . . Recepimus paucis effluxis diebus certas literas apostolicas a sanctissimo dom. nostro Pio papa secundo ex parte generalis defensionis catholice fidei contra infideles et fidei christiane persecutores perfidos Turcos emanatas nobis per certos s. sedis nobiles ambaciatores et nuncios praesentatas. In quibus eadem sedes nos requirit, quatenus illarum copiam una cum brevibus e[iusdem] s[ue] s[an]c[titatis] et nostris exhortacionibus suffraganeis ecclesie nostre transmittere studeamus. Verum quia nos tamquam catholicus princeps sancte Romane ecclesie et apostolicis preceptis, presertim hiis que ad sacrosancte catholice fidei suffragium et defensionem procedere sperantur, prompto affectu merito obedientes meritoque inclinati iuxta commissionem prefati sanctis-

* See *supra*, p. 334.

† See *supra*, p. 334.

simi domini nostri vobis transmittimus earundem apostolicarum literarum copias auschultatas una cum brevi nobis asscripto. Rogamus atque hortamur dilectionem vestram singulari cum diligencia, quatinus iuxta monita apostolica et ipsarum literarum continenciam ortodoxe religionis zelo vos benivolum exhibeatis. Illa eciam a nobis sincero animo placeat intelligere . . .

[Copy in the Cathedral Library, Trèves. Cod. 33, fol. 1–1[1].]

62. Otto de Carretto to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan.*

[1464], May 28, Rome.

Gives an account of the suffering condition of Pius II., who will not, in the opinion of those around him, be able to bear the hardships of the journey: e tal chi era prompto a suaderli l'andare hora e piu remisso e lo rev^mo card^le de Pavia† me l'ha detto molto in secreto e dice haverne lui parlato con la S^ta Sua, la qual sta obstinata dicendo se dovesse morire che vuole andare come ha promisso.‡

* See *supra*, p. 350. † Ammanati.

‡ These words, spoken by Pius II. to one of his confidants, furnish important evidence of the earnestness of his efforts on behalf of the Crusade. Reumont, III., 1, 491, characterises as unworthy the insinuations of Voigt in regard to the Pope's motives in the Crusade; Brosch, Kirchenstaat, I., 14, defends Voigt, and says: "what these motives really were, we learn from the Despatches of the Milanese Ambassador, Girol. de Collis, dated Venice, 24 Aug. and 11 Sept., 1464, published in the Collez. di doc. storichi antichi delle terre Marchigiane p. c. di Ciavarini, p. 185 (Ancona, 1870). The Despatches furnish documentary evidence that the crusading zeal of Pius II. appeared to the best informed contemporaries, like the Doge of Venice, in a most suspicious light." H. Brosch could hardly have appealed to a worse witness than the Doge Ch. Moro, who only joined the Crusade by compulsion, and, by his whole bearing, shewed how unpleasing the Pope's expedition was to him. (See *supra*, p. 366 *seq.*). The Despatches of G. Collis, which I have been unable, after diligent search, to find in the Milanese Archives, and which Ciavarini obtained through a Russian, only shew that the Pope, who would not allow himself to be used for the ends of the Republic, and who endeavoured to bring about a general expedition against the Turks, was very badly spoken of in Venice. Both Reports were written after the death of the Pope. The statements of those who were eye-witnesses of the last part of Pius II.'s life, are certainly worthy of more credit than those made by an Ambassador who was at a distance, living in Venice, and who, after the death of the Pope, wrote what was there reported. G. de Collis says that nothing was prepared by the Pope, and that not even "un

63. Pope Pius II. to Piero de' Medici.*

1464, Aug. 8, Ancona.

Pius Papa II. Petro Medici Cosmi filio. Dilecte fili, &c. Intel-

sacho de biscotto" was ready. How far this assertion is true may be seen by a glance at the *Crusade account-book, mentioned *supra*, p. 336, where, in May, 1464, is an entry of 1000 duc. for biscotto. (State Archives, Rome.) In opposition to Brosch, see also Cipolla in Arch. Veneto, XX., 116. Almost all scholars of note, even such as are not favourably disposed towards Pius II., justly maintain that he was thoroughly in earnest in his efforts to promote the Crusade; see in particular, Ranke, Päpste, I., 25; Burckhardt, A. v. Krain, 16; Jäger, Cusa, I., 318; Cipolla, Signorie, 490; Helwing, 21; Fromann, 235; Villari, I., 59–60; Weber, Weltgesch., IX., 116; Hopf, Griechenl., LXXXVI., 155; Hagenbach, Kirchengesch., 590; Bigazzi, Miscell. Storica, Nr. III., p. 25 (Florence, 1849); Höfler, Borgia, 23–24. See also Schröckh, Kirchengesch., 290, and Marcellino da Civezza, III., 43. Simoneta's suspicious statement, adopted by Voigt, III., 764, that Pius II. had resolved only to go to Durazzo, and then to return to Rome, is also to be rejected. The Reports of Carretto, to which Simoneta appeals, are neither in the State Archives, Milan, nor in the Ambrosian Library. *Reports of Carretto, dated May and June are, however, extant, and show that Pius II. was steadfastly determined to go to the Turkish war. The place to which the troops were to be transported on leaving Ancona depended, in some measure, on the will of the Doge, as appears from a *Report addressed by the Bishop of Feltre to the Duke of Milan, dated Rome, 1464, May 28 (State Archives, Milan), and from a *Letter of Giacomo d'Arezzo, dated Ancona, 1464, July 25 (Gonzaga Archives); before the Doge's arrival it was accordingly impossible to come to a definite conclusion. There is also an *Instruction of Fr. Sforza's for his Ambassadors to the Pope, dated Milan, 1464, July 30. (Archives at Milan.) The Duke, in this document, does not express the slightest doubt of the Pope's purpose to undertake the expedition. It is well known that Fr. Sforza was little inclined for the Crusade; see *supra*, p. 341 *seq.* Simoneta desires to excuse his Duke, and therefore casts suspicion on the Pope. That the Duke of Milan to the last intended to hold Pius II. back is evident from an *Instruction for the French Ambassador, Malleta, dated Milan, 1464, Aug. 10, in which he says: "*Nuy gli dessuademo tale andata et faremo el possibile perche non passi della; benche l'habia el cervello Senese che sapete, ma dal canto nostro non gli mancarimo ad questo effecto et de quello succedera ve advisarimo." (Cod. 1611, Fonds. Ital. of the National Library, Paris.) These words make it clear that a secret purpose on the part of the Pope to return to Rome is out of the question. A hundred years ago S. Borgia, in the Anecd. Litt., III., 278, expressed himself as opposed to Simoneta and to the Report of Christophorus a Soldo, which made insinuations against the Pope.

* The last letter of the Pope, who was already sick to death; see *supra*, p. 360, and Voigt, III., 703.

leximus nuper Cosmum patrem tuum ex hac vita migrasse. Acerbum sane et luctuosum nuntium.* Dileximus quidem illum sincera caritate ut virum quem nobis et apostolicae sedi semper devotum experti sumus et quam singulari prudentia et bonitate preditum esse cognovimus. Mors eius etsi non tibi solum sed multis lugenda videatur, tamen oportet fili te forti animo ferre eum casum qui divina lege mortalibus prescriptus est. Voluntatem hanc divinam constanter feras nec dolori indulgeas. Si mortalitatis cursam recto iudicio existimas, vixit diu Cosmus, satisfecit naturae et viam universae carnis grandevus est ingressus. Vixit in laude et gloria : nec solum in civitate sua, sed in tota Italia et universo fere orbe cum summa existimatione et quod pluris faciendum est† vixit pie et religiose dei timoratus. Nec expedit eius viri exitum lugere qui iuste et recte vixit quoniam ex hac turbulentissima vita humana ad quietissimam et tranquillissimam migrasse censendum est. Nos dilecte fili quoniam genitorem tuum paterna et† singulari† quadam caritate amplectebamur intendimus erga te eundem animum gerere quem erga eum gessimus facturosque nos assidue pollicemur quae honori et commodis tuis et domus et familiae de Medicis conducere arbitrabimur.‡ Hec te non ignorare voluimus. Datum Anconae sub annulo piscatoris die 8 Augusti 1464, pontificatus nostri anno VI. Die postea XIV hora IV noctis ibidem ex febri est mortuus.

[Cop. Plut. LIV.–Cod. 10, f. 123. Laurentian Library, Florence.]

64. Gregorio Lolli to Siena.§

1464, Aug. 15, Ancona.

. . . . E piaciuto a Dio questa nocte ad hore tre|| chiamare a se la

* In the copy in Plut. LXXXX., Cod. 36, here follow the words : "nobisque molestissimum."

† Wanting in the above-mentioned Manuscript.

‡ The other manuscript has "arbitramur."

§ See *supra*, p. 370.

|| This hour is mentioned in Cron. Rom., 29 ; Cr. di Bologna, 757 ; in the *Acta Consist. of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, f. 33b ; in the *Letters of J. P. Arrivabene to Marchioness Barbara, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 15 ; of Giacomo d'Arezzo, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16 ; and of Cardinal Gonzaga of the same date (these are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The second hour of the night is the time given in the *Chronicle of Broglio, f. 278 (Cod. D.,

benedecta anima de la felice memoria di papa Pio. Ecci a tanto danno uno poco di refrigerio che essendo mortale come li [altri] homini è morto il piu glorioso pontefice che gia grandissimo tempo sedesse in quella sedia, è danno non solo a noi, ma tutta la christianita n'ha a fare grande lamento di tanta perdita.

[Original in the State Archives, Siena.]

65. The Version of the "Memoirs of Pius II."

(In Cod. Regin., 1995. Vatican Library.)

In the second volume of this work (p. 323, note †) I have referred to the very one-sided manner in which the "Memoirs of Pius II." were mutilated in several editions (Rome, 1584, and 1589, and Frankfort, 1614), to the Manuscripts of the Gambalunga, Chigi, and Santa Croce Libraries (? V. Emman. Libr.), which contained the missing and often most interesting passages, and to the fact that Professor Cugnoni founded his edition of these omissions, (published in Rome in 1883), only on a Manuscript in the Chigi Library, and did not consult the Vatican Codices. After a careful examination of these Codices, made in March, 1883, I believe that in Cod. Regin., 1995, MS. chart. fol. sec. XV. fol. 595, I have found the Original of the "Memoirs," written in part by the hand of Pius II. himself, and the Manuscript seems to be the one entrusted to Campanus for correction. This was certainly done when the 12 Books of the Commentaries were completed: Campanus, 986, mentions only these 12 Books, while Platina, from the first, speaks of a 13th; this, which has been published by Voigt, is, however, in its Latinity and style throughout, of a date subsequent to the earlier ones. The ancient title of the Cod. Regin., 1995, mentions neither 12 nor 13 Books. The Manuscript actually, however, contains the beginning of the 13th Book, which was written later, and concludes with the very same words as the two Manuscripts in the Vallicellana and Corsini Libraries * on which Voigt based his edition. Cod. Regin. opens with an

III., 48, Gambalunga Library, Rimini), and in a Letter from the Archbishop of Milan to Fr. Sforza, dated Ancona, 1464, Aug. 16 (State Archives, Milan), while the Chron. Eugub., 1008, and the notice in N. 63, have the fourth hour.

* The present designation of this Manuscript is: 35. G. 11.

Index, then the MS., f. 1, commences with the words: "Jesus. Si perit morte animus, &c.," that is to say, with Campanus' Preface. At f. 1b the Papal "Memoirs" begin at first in the handwriting of an amanuensis, but with later additions in the margin. The words in italics, for example, regarding the names bestowed on Piccolomini, are a later edition: Aeneas etiam patris Silvii nomen accepit et *ob reverentiam Apostoli, quem Indorum barbari decoriarunt, Bartholomaei, tritoninus enim fuit, Aeneas Silvius Bartholomaeus apellatus: editus autem est in lucem ipsa luce sancti Evangelistae Lucae xiiii. Cal. Nov. 1405.* Hic in pueritia, &c." A notable variation from the printed text occurs in the Vatican Manuscript, f. 2, which has the words: "Exinde cum diu apud patrem quaevis officia ruris obiisset, annos jam duodeviginti natus in urbem migravit." Not only are the words "civili exercitatione" omitted, but also the passage which, without knowledge of the Manuscript, VOIGT, II., 339, had justly concluded to be inserted by a flatterer,* "animi levandi causa prout a nobilibus fieri solet." The addition on f. 7, excusing the author, is also very characteristic: "At Aeneas non tam foeminas quam latrones—dormire sinebant" which is wanting in the older editions—and was first published by CUGNONI, p. 180. From f. 11 to f. 33b is the work of another hand; f. 34 is blank. I think that I recognise the autograph of Pius II. in the note, f. 35–61; a comparison with the facsimile of his autograph, given by CUGNONI, ex Cod. Chis., I., VII., 251, 269, as well as with the autograph Postscript of his Brief of the 25th November, 1458, to Siena (published in Piccolomini Doc., see *supra*, p. 50, note §), which I shortly afterwards had the opportunity of examining, shews the greatest similarity in the formation of the characters. While Part f. 11–33b proceeds like a transcript, and without corrections, the continuation from f. 35–61 conveys the idea of being a rough draft; it is a first copy, with corrections, such as an author makes while writing; words are frequently transposed, a better expression is selected, or a wrongly written word effaced. Professor Aug. Wilmanns,† who was at the time

* Voigt suspects Campanus, but this appears to me doubtful.

† I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt gratitude to the worthy Director of the Royal Library for the unwearied kindness with which he repeatedly sent numerous works, from the wealthy institution under his care, to Innsbruck for my use. As there are many serious deficiencies in the

working in the Vatican, and to whom, as a very competent authority, I submitted my discovery, was also of opinion that the Manuscript was that of the author. This view of the matter is further corroborated by the fact that the passage where, if I am correct, the Pope himself takes up the pen, beginning with the words "Turcae dum haec aguntur," narrates the fall of Constantinople (Comment. Pii II., Frankfort ed., p. 22 *seq.*), a subject which, naturally, was very near the heart of the august writer. At the conclusion of the first Book, f. 61, the Pope ceases to write with his own hand; his autograph draft also includes the relation of his own election,* of which I have made use (*supra*, p. 11). I have minutely examined this much mutilated section, and have noted the most important corrections made by the writer. These corrections have strengthened my conviction that it is written by the author himself. For example, at the beginning of the account of the Conclave, instead of "Haec cum accepisset Philippus card. Bononiensis" were the words "Inter hec Eneas historiam bohemican cum absolvisset," which the author has effaced; instead of "urbem" stood "Romam," instead of "sacella," "capelle," after "in maiore" the most unnecessary addition "capella," and so forth. But in the final Text of the Cod. Regin. slight variations from the former version occur, variations which improve upon the style, and indicate the hand of the author. Instead of "Aeneam timebat" (CUGNONI, 185), Cod. Regin. has the stronger expression "formidabat"; instead of the unmeaning word "revelabit," "relevavit"; instead of "non me imprudentem nosti," "nec me, &c."; instead of "dimissus," the more correct "dimissurus." The passage which VOIGT, III., 7, holds to be genuine, "Veniebant non pauci magnis pollicitationibus et quasi amasiae capiebantur ab domino vendebaturque Christi tunica sine exemplo," stands in the Cod.

Library at Innsbruck, the completion of my work without extraneous aid would have been an impossibility. I am also greatly indebted to the Directors of the University Library at Vienna.

* Important variations, regarding the time of Nicholas V. and of Calixtus III., do not occur, therefore I could not—as DRUFFEL, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1888, p. 515, requires—point them out. This "Critic" who, without waiting for my later volume, here casts doubts on my statements regarding the original Manuscript of the Commentaries, has never himself even seen the Manuscript in question.

Chis. (CUGNONI, *loc. cit.*) as well as in Cod. Regin. "Vincebantur non pauci magnis pollicitationibus et quasi musce capiebantur ab homine vendebaturque tunica Christi sine Christo." The principal words in question, "quasi musce," &c., are found in many other Manuscripts.* VOIGT's conjecture, III., 8, of "Ursinus" instead of "Pisanus," is confirmed by Cod. Chis. as well as Cod. Regin. Finally, the following readings from the Cod. Regin. are to be preferred to those of Cod. Chis. in CUGNONI, 185–186 :—

certi ex cardinalibus	*instead of*	certis ex c.
pontificatum obtinent	„	p. ineat.
paupertatem praemiis	„	paupertate premeris.
alienum est a Christi professione quam vicarium	„	alienum est a Ch. p. quum vicarium.
non feret	„	non fert.
lupanar meretricum	„	l. meretricium.
ne solus remanerem	„	ne s. permanerem.

It will be observed that the sum total is small, but they are worthy of attention in a new edition of this remarkable work. In Cod. Regin. there are many changes of hand; at f. 349, another hand begins with Lib. VIII.

I see, in addition, that DUDIK, I., 264, suggests that Cod. Regin., 1995 "appears to be the Original," without, however, giving any further grounds for this impression. The statement here made, that the Codex came from the Library of S. Andrea at Rome, is of importance. According to DE ROSSI (Bibl. Vat., 365), the Codices from the Library of Pius II., now preserved in the Vatican, were brought from the magnificent Library which the Theatines had at S. Andrea della Valle (BLUME, III., 141); the Manuscript, therefore, is from the Pope's private Library, a circumstance which yet further confirms the opinion I have expressed.

* As Cod. Urb., 407, p. 1, f. 58, Vatican Library, Cod. XXXIII.–142, f. 122; Barberini Library, IX.; Cod. XXX. and XXXII. of the Marciana at Venice, and Conclavi diversi a Pio II. ad Pium IV.. Vol. 139. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. III.

Adolph of Nassau, Archbishop of Mayence, 165, 203–206, 208, 209.
Agnensis, Galeotto, 7.
Alain, Cardinal, 11, 13, 17, 47, 102, 138, 155.
Albert, Archduke of Austria, 53, 87.
Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg, 48, 53, 97, 158, 160, 163–165, 167, 168, 194, 195, 197, 199, 203, 205, 206, 208, 209.
Alberti, Leon Battista, 118.
d'Albret, Louis, Cardinal, 137, 138, 298.
Aldighieri, Michele degli, 248.
Alexander I., King of Poland, 252.
Amalfi, Duke of, *see* Piccolomini, Antonio.
Ammanati, Cardinal (Bishop of Pavia), 32, 41, 126, 147, 299, 300, 355, 356, 361, 365, 369, 370.
Andrew, St., Head of, 249, 258–261.
Anguillara, Everso, 109, 143.
Anguillara, Family of, 107.
Antoine of Burgundy, 345.
Antoninus, St. (Archbishop of Florence), 22, 56, 275.
Antonio da Gubbio, 229.
Antonio da Noceto, 139, 154, 237.
Antonio da Pistoja, 17.
Augsburg, Cardinal of, 173.
Auribelle, Martial, 278.
Bamberg, Bishop of, 48.
Barbara, Marchioness of Mantua, 73.
Barbo, Pietro, Cardinal (afterwards Paul II.), 7, 12, 47, 301, 371.
Benvoglienti, Leonardo, 329, 337.
Bernardo da Bosco, 286.
Bernardo of Florence, 305, 307.
Bertholdo d'Este, 338, 340.
Bessarion, Cardinal, 12, 13, 32, 63, 69, 81, 96, 147, 159–163, 168–170, 172–176, 194, 199, 225, 244, 258, 261, 289, 312, 317–319, 349, 369.
Biondo, Flavio, and Gasparo, 40.
Blumenau, Lorenz, 191.
Borgia, Pedro Luis, 20, 21, 28.
Borgia, Rodrigo, Cardinal (afterwards Alexander VI.), 12, 14, 31, 47, 277, 289, 356, 371.
Borso d'Este, Duke of Modena and Ferrara, 58, 72, 242, 285, 335, 353, 354.
Brescia, Bishop of, 287.
Breslau, Bishop of, 222, 232, 236.
Brittany, Duke of, 90.
Brixen, Bishop of, *see* Cusa.
Burchard of Weissbriach, Cardinal (Archbishop of Salzburg), 296, 300.
Busch, John, 277.

Calandrini, Cardinal, 7, 11, 32, 47, 276.

Calixtus III., Pope, 3, 4, 6, 9, 27, 100, 130, 132, 181, 183, 186, 217, 241, 291, 300.
Campano, Giantonio, 13, 30, 33, 41, 44, 310.
Capello, Vittore, 314, 339.
Capranica, Angelo, Cardinal, 294, 297.
Capranica, Domenico, Cardinal, 4, 6, 7, 300.
Carretto, Otto de, 6, 14, 15, 19, 141–143, 145–147, 224, 341, 343, 348, 350.
Carvajal, Juan de, Cardinal, 32, 48, 65, 68, 147, 161, 171, 289, 316, 327, 349, 355, 358, 361, 362.
Casimir, King of Poland, 232.
Castiglione, Cardinal, 12, 32.
Castille, King of, 53.
Castro, Giovanni de, 261–263.
Catherine, Queen-mother of Bosnia, 264–266.
Catherine of Siena, St., 290–293.
Cavriani, Galeazzo, Bishop of Mantua, 30.
Cenci, Agapito di, 41.
Charles VII., King of France, 54, 68, 89, 102, 132, 134–137, 188.
Charles I., King of Naples, 26.
Charles, Margrave of Baden, 89, 90.
Charlotte de Lusignan, Queen of Cyprus, 252–255.
Chaumont, Pierre de, 147, 151–153.
Clement IV., Pope, 26.
Cologne, Archbishop of, *see* Rupert.
Colonna, Family of, 7, 14, 107, 109, 114, 143.
Colonna, Antonio, Prefect of Rome, 28.
Colonna, Prospero, Cardinal, 6, 7, 13–15, 21, 47, 109, 301.
Contarini, Pandolfo, 373.
Contrarius, A., 40.
Coppini, Bishop of Terni, 142.
Cordova, Jayme de, Bishop of Urgel, 298.
Corneto, Bishop of, *see* Vitelleschi.
Corvinus, Matthias, King of Hungary, 53, 66, 70, 144, 175, 264, 265, 316, 340, 345, 348, 372.
Coutances, Bishop of, *see* Longueil.
Crete, Archbishop of, *see* Lando.
Crivelli, Leodrisio, 39.
Cusa, Nicholas of, Cardinal, 30, 32, 88, 90, 106, 157, 178–186, 210, 211, 224, 270–272, 349, 355, 371.

Dati, Agostino, 260.
Dauvet, Jean, 132.
David, Emperor of Trebizond, 247.
Diether of Isenburg, Archbishop of Mayence, 144, 164–167, 169, 174, 176, 177, 188, 192–208, 225.
Domenichi, Domenico de', Bishop of Torcello, 8, 270, 272–275, 288, 364.
Donatus, Marcus, 340.
Durazzo, Archbishop of, 320.

Eichstätt, Bishop of, *see* John III.
Eroli, Bernardo, Cardinal (Bishop of Spoleto), 32, 282, 294, 297, 356.
d'Este, *see* Bertholdo and Borso d'Este.
d'Estouteville, Guillaume, Cardinal, 8, 11, 15, 17, 31, 47, 130, 253, 327, 356, 358.
Eugenius III., Pope, 284.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 11, 29, 130, 213, 285.

Fantinus de Valle, 220, 223, 231, 232, 234–236.
Federighi, Antonio, 305.
Federigo of Urbino, 50, 103, 104, 113, 114, 126, 127, 357.
Feltre, Bishop of, *see* Lelli.
Ferrante, King of Naples, 5, 6–8, 15, 20, 25–28, 58, 70, 74, 75, 83, 90, 92, 103–106, 113, 121–123, 131, 141–145, 148, 150, 338.
Ferrici, Pietro (Nuncio), 205, 208, 209.
Fieschi, Cardinal, 12.
Filelfo, Francesco, 38, 74.
Flassland, John Werner of, 203.
Florence, Archbishop of, *see* St. Antoninus.
Forchtenauer, Wolfgang, 224, 226.
Forteguerri, Cardinal (Bishop of Teano), 27, 32, 124, 127, 147, 294, 297, 349, 355, 362.
Foscarini, Luigi, 76, 78.
Francesco d'Arezzo, 38.
Francis of Toledo, 162, 198, 199, 204, 205, 220.
Frederick III., Emperor, 17, 48, 53, 63–66, 82, 96, 144, 158, 162, 163, 169, 173, 174, 177, 195, 198, 200, 210, 212, 237.
Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, 53, 194, 195.
Frederick I., Count Palatine, 144, 158, 164, 165, 176, 177, 194, 195, 197, 199, 204, 206–209.
Frederick, Duke of Saxony, 48.

George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, 53, 144, 162, 176, 177, 199, 212, 216–226, 230–239, 351, 359.
George, Bishop of Trent, 89, 191.
Giacomo da Brescia, 286, 287.
Giacomo da Lucca, 32.
Giblet, Moses, 245.
Giustiniani, Orsato, 76.
Giustiniano, Bernardo, 315, 358.
Gonzaga, Francesco, Cardinal, 298, 371.
Gonzaga, Lodovico III., Marquess of Mantua, 59, 71, 73, 83, 144, 298, 335, 354.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 21.
Gregory XII., Pope, 291.
Guiniforte da Barzizza, 55.

Heimburg, Gregor, 87, 95, 133, 174, 177, 184, 185–192, 194, 196, 197, 200, 209, 212.
Helena, Queen of Poland, 252.
Helena, Queen of Servia, 251.
Henry VI., King of England, 58.
Hinderbach, 53.

Ibrahimbeg, Prince of Caramania, 245, 247.
Isidor, Cardinal, 13, 301.
Iwan Wassilijewitsch III., 252.

Jacopo della Marca, St., 286.
James, King of Scotland, 188.
James, Cardinal of Portugal, 293.
Jean de Croix, Lord of Chimay, 71, 73.
John II., King of Aragon, 53, 58, 83.
John, Margrave of Baden, Archbishop of Trèves, 165, 196, 199.
John, Margrave of Brandenburg, 194, 195.
John, Duke of Cleves, 71–73, 144.
John III., Bishop of Eichstätt, 89, 160, 301.

John, Duke of Calabria, 74, 92–94, 102, 103, 111, 112, 126, 141, 150, 241.
Jouffroy, Jean, Cardinal (Bishop of Arras), 71, 132, 135–138, 140, 142, 146–152, 154, 155, 157, 298, 327.
Jüterbogk, Jakob von, 277.

Koranda, Wenzel, 224, 226.
Kostka, Zdenko, 224, 226, 233.

La Balue, Jean de, Cardinal, 156.
La Cerda, Antonio de, Cardinal, 14, 293.
Lando, Jerome, Archbishop of Crete, 220, 223, 280, 353.
Lelli, Teodoro de', Bishop of Feltre, 190.
Leo X., Pope, 302.
Leubing, Heinrich, 169.
Lodovico of Bologna, 247, 248.
Lolli, Gregorio, 32, 124, 139, 147, 150, 242, 331.
Longueil, Cardinal (Bishop of Coutances), 135, 140, 147, 155.
Louis XI., King of France, 121, 134–138, 140–142, 144, 146–152, 154–157, 225, 232, 237, 316, 343, 345, 348, 350, 351, 359.
Louis, Duke of Savoy, 86, 90.
Louis of Savoy (Husband of Charlotte de Lusignan), 252.
Louis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut, 158, 160, 177.
Luca da Tozio, 109.
Lucas of Dalmatia, 317.
Lusignan, *see* Charlotte de.
Lusignan, James de, 252.

Mahomet II., Sultan, 249, 256, 263, 264–266.
Malatesta, Domenico, 127, 128.
Malatesta, Isotta, 118, 119.
Malatesta, Sigismondo, 83, 107, 109, 116, 118–120, 125–128, 130, 144, 232, 242, 318, 319, 321, 341.
Malipiero, Pasquale, Doge, 76, 311, 312.
Malleta, A., 351.
Mantua, Bishop of, *see* Cavriani.
Maria, Queen of Bosnia, 266.
Marini, Antoine, 231, 232, 237, 238.
Martin V., Pope, 56, 100.
Marzano, Duke of Sessa, 122.
Maso, Tiburzio di, 108, 109, 111, 112, 114.
Maso, Valeriano di, 108, 112.
Mattei, Lorenzo, 304.
Matthias Corvinus, *see* Corvinus.
Mayence, Archbishops of, *see* Adolph, Diether.
Medici, Cosmo de', 56, 141, 335.
Medici, Piero Francesco de', 22.
Mila, Luis Juan de, Cardinal, 14.
Milan, Archbishop of, *see* Nardini.
Mino da Fiesole, 302.
Mirabilli-Piccolomini, *see* Piccolomini.
Montefeltre, *see* Federigo of Urbino.
Moro, Cristoforo, Doge, 312, 339, 354, 366, 367, 371–373.
Moro, Lorenzo, Duke of Candia, 339.

Nardini, Stefano, Archbishop of Milan, 285, 359, 371.
Nicholas V., Pope, 3, 38, 49, 95, 299–301, 303.
Nicodemus de Pontremoli, 141.

Oliva, Cardinal, 250, 258, 294, 297.
Omar Pasha, 313.

Onofrio, Bishop of Tricarico, 209.
Orsini, Family of, 7, 14, 47.
Orsini, Giov. Antonio, Prince of Tarento, 74, 109, 120–123, 126, 338.
Orsini, Napoleone, 120.

Palæologus, Andreas, 251, 252.
„ Catherine (Wife of Thomas), 251.
„ Demetrius, 249.
„ Helena, *see* Helena.
„ Manuel, 251.
„ Thomas, Despot of the Morea, 69, 70, 249, 251.
„ Zoë, Wife of Iwan Wassilijewitsch III., 251, 252.
Palmerius, Nicholas, 48.
Paolo di Mariano (Romano), 303.
Patrizzi, Agostino de' and Francesco de', 41.
Paul II., *see* Barbo.
Pavia, Bishop of, *see* Ammanati.
Pecock, Reginald, Bishop of Chichester, 285.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 53, 71, 136, 232, 267, 268, 317, 330, 331, 340, 343, 345, 346.
Piasio, Battista, 40.
Piccinino, Jacopo, 5, 20, 26, 28, 48, 92, 103, 104, 107, 109, 111–113, 117, 120, 122, 143.
Piccolomini, Æneas Sylvius, *see* Pius II.
„ Alessandro de Mirabilli-, 124.
„ Andrea, 105, 123, 124.
„ Antonio, Duke of Amalfi, 27, 28, 105, 108, 121–123.
Piccolomini, Bartolomea, 124.
„ Caterina, 305.
„ Francesco, Cardinal, 32, 123, 124, 258, 295, 297, 352.
„ Giacomo, 123, 124, 349.
„ Laudomia (Wife of Nanni Todeschini), 123.
„ Niccolo, 336.
Pietro da Noceto, 139.
Pius II., Pope, 6, 7, 11–79, 82–97, 99, 100, 102, 104–115, 117, 119–121, 123–135, 137–143, 145, 147–158, 162–164, 166, 168, 170–172, 175, 185–230, 236–374.
Pius VI., Pope, 33.
Pius IX., Pope, 293.
Platina, Bartolomeo, 30, 32, 34, 39.
Podiebrad, *see* George Podiebrad.
Poggio, Battista, 39.
Porcaro, Stefano, 108, 112.
Porcello, Giantonio, 38.
Portugal, King of, 53.

Rabenstein, John of, 218, 219.
Rabenstein, Procopius of, 224, 226.
Radak, 265.
René, King of Provence, 20, 58, 89–94, 102, 105, 113, 197, 344, 346.
Ricavo, Antonio, 347.
Rokyzana, 214, 215, 217, 218, 222.
Rosellino, Bernardo, 307.
Roverella, Bartolomeo, Cardinal (Archbishop of Ravenna), 299.
Roverella, Lorenzo, Bishop of Ferrara, 316.
Rubeis, Augustinus de, 341, 342.

Rudolf of Rüdesheim, 174, 198, 199, 201.
Rupert, Archbishop of Cologne, 207, 209.
Ruvo, Bishop of, 282.
Ruysbroeck, Johannes, 277.

Sagundino, Niccolo, 41.
Salzburg, Archbishop of, *see* Burchard.
Savelli, Family of, 107, 143.
Savelli, Jacopo, 107, 109, 112–114.
Scarampo, Luigi, Cardinal, 60, 62, 147, 293.
Sforza, Alessandro, 103, 104, 113, 122.
Sforza, Francesco, Duke of Milan, 6, 7, 15, 27, 59, 72–75, 82, 83, 86, 101, 103, 104, 106, 110, 117, 119–121, 125, 142–144, 146, 330, 341–343, 367.
Sforza, Galeazzo, 55, 57.
Sforza, Ippolita, 59.
Sigismondo, *see* Malatesta.
Sigismund, Duke of the Tyrol, 48, 88, 90, 144, 175, 176, 178, 180, 182–188, 191, 192, 199, 209–212, 225.
Simonetto, 103.
Skanderbeg, 113, 320, 324, 348.
Specchio, Bonanno, 108, 111, 112.
Spoleto, Bishop of, *see* Eroli.
Stephan Thomaschewitsch. King of Bosnia, 70, 264, 266, 314.
Sternberg, Zdenko of, 233, 236.

Teano, Bishop of, *see* Forteguerri.
Tebaldo, Cardinal, 13, 62.
Terni, Bishop of, *see* Coppini.
Todeschini, Nanni, 123.
Todeschini-Piccolomini, *see* Piccolomini, Francesco.
Torcello, Bishop of, *see* Domenichi.
Torquemada, Juan de, Cardinal, 7, 12, 13, 63, 289.
Tournay, Bishop of, 320.
Trent, *see* George, Bishop of.
Trèves, Archbishop of, *see* John, Margrave of Baden.
Tricarico, Bishop of, *see* Onofrio.
Trieste, Bishop of, 82.

Ulrich of Würtemberg, 165.
Urban II., Pope, 80.
Usunhassan, Prince of the Turcomans, 339.

Varano, Giulio Cesare, 143.
Vespasiano da Bisticci, 299.
Vettori, Angelo, 55.
Vitelleschi, Bartolomeo, Bishop of Corneto, 119.

William, Duke of Saxony, 88.
Wrbensky, Wenzel, 224.
Würzburg, Bishop of, 48, 194.

Ysaias da Pisa, 303.

Zdenko, *see* Sternberg.

PRINTED BY NEILL AND CO., EDINBURGH.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE LIBRARY
3 5002 03107 1561

BX 955 .P35 3

Pastor, Ludwig, 1854-1928

The history of the popes,
from the close of the